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Book F852



AFRICA'S REDEMPTION

THE

Salvation of our Country.

BY REV. F. FREEMAN,

AUTHOR OF "YARADEE," "PLEA FOR AFRICA," "PSALMODIA," ETC.

"Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto."

Terence.



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TO
THE MEMORY
OF
HENRY CLAY,

THE DISTINGUISHED AMONG THE ILLUSTRIOUS,
THE ACCOMPLISHED STATESMAN AND TRUE PATRIOT,
THE FRIEND OF FREEDOM AND OF HUMAN RIGHTS,
THE ABLE AND ZEALOUS ADVOCATE FOR COLONIZATION,
AND PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
WHOSE LAMENTED DECREASE,
OCCURRING WHILST THESE PAGES WERE PASSING THROUGH THE PRESS,
HAS CAUSED A NATION TO MOURN, AND BEREAVED HUMANITY OF A NOBLE FRIEND,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH DEEP SYMPATHY IN THE GENERAL GRIEF.

DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

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INTRODUCTION.



This volume is thrown before the world without the usual array of names to sustain its claims to consideration. Its pretensions are not lofty; it refers to the importance of its subject, and with the solemn assurance that it has been written without any subserviency to party views, and without any unkind designs, it relies on the candor of the reader. The writer has followed the honest convictions of his own mind, and in connexion with facts that are indisputable, has expressed views which are the conscientious result of much reflection, personal observation, and a long residence and extensive acquaintance at the South. He may have formed an erroneous judgment in some things pertaining to the subject, for

“to err is human,”

and he lays no claim to infallibility; but he loves truth, and has aimed at impartiality. If, on the one hand, he is constrained to admit a liability to bias from “northern prejudice,” he can sincerely say that, on the other hand, his warm admiration of the southern character and his affection for southern friends unite an all-sufficient counteracting influence. He is fully aware that as these pages savor none of party, they will not find favor with the ULTRAS

of *any* opinion; and he conceives it more than possible that some of opposing sentiments may each suppose that the writer favors the views of the other: if, however, whilst some disapprove and condemn without cause, or are severe in criticism, the more candid approve, the writer will not complain.

Particular acknowledgments of the aid derived in this work from the able remarks of several distinguished advocates for freedom and for human rights, are not given; for the task would be inconvenient and useless. If any such find their thoughts or language here employed, *they* will require no apology, satisfied to have aided by their writings this humble attempt, and will cordially unite with that of the writer, their earnest wish that the claims of Africa may be better understood, and that we may all and each of us be able to say, without an exception or a blush,

“*UBI LIBERTAS, IBI PATRIA.*”

The author gratefully acknowledges the flattering reception which a similar work, his *Plea for Africa*, met, through several successive editions; and the assurances he has had that it has been of utility to the cause which he seeks to promote. His prayer is, that the present work may be useful, and that divine Providence may continue to smile on the efforts of all true friends of the African race.

REDEMPTION OF AFRICA.

CONVERSATION I.

“Eternal nature ! when thy giant hand
Had heaved the floods, and fixed the trembling land,
When life sprung startling at thy plastic call,
Endless her forms, and man the lord of all ;
Say, was that lordly form, inspired by thee,
To wear eternal chains, and bow the knee !”—*Campbell.*

‘THE subject of your discussion,’ said Mr. Lovegood, as he folded the paper which had for some time absorbed his attention ; and turned to his children, (who in the opposite part of the parlor had been, whilst he was reading, as busily employed in discussing the merits of the Colonization Enterprise,) ‘is certainly one that commends itself to the heart of humanity in either sex and among all people. Your inquiries, last evening, I had not time then to answer fully ; but I shall be happy now to give you all the information in relation to it, in my power.’

The little group which Mr. L. thus addressed, consisted of his eldest daughter, Caroline, a lovely and interesting girl of sixteen ; Henry, a sprightly and intelligent boy, who was next to his sister Caroline in age, and their two younger brothers, and little sister Mary. Caroline and Henry were conducting the debate, but all seemed deeply interested in the subject, and the eyes of all glistened with pleasure when Mr. L. proposed to gratify their wishes by assisting them

to understand a subject which they found attended with at least some difficulty. A beloved and respected father is authority to which a dutiful and affectionate child loves to refer for information and advice, and to which, ordinarily, an appeal is made with great confidence.

Said Caroline, 'I thought from your remarks, last evening, my dear father, that you suppose the views of both Henry and myself are somewhat incorrect; and I think nothing more probable than that mine are, for I confess I know not what to believe when I notice the conflicting opinions of so many good men in relation to this subject.'

'It need not surprise us,' rejoined Mr. L. 'to find prevailing some diversity of sentiment on a subject which, whether presented to the mind of patriot, philanthropist, or Christian, involves considerations of so great and important interest. Nor will it be thought strange by me, if my dear children find, when we come to converse freely and fully on the subject, that they are in some error, not in matters of *opinion* only, but of fact. I therefore suggested to you, last evening, for I had not time to say more, that possibly you might find yourself, in some things, laboring under mistake. The hint was given, you will recollect, Caroline, in consequence of a remark of yours in respect to the "*obtuseness*" of the African intellect.'

'But, Pa,' said Caroline, with some degree of surprise, and with apparent incredulity, 'I presume you do not think the remark unjust? The stupidity of Africans, I suppose to be proverbial.'

A point was now touched which it was evident had interested the feelings of the children in the previous conversation that had been held whilst Mr. L. was engaged in reading; for the smaller children drew closer around the table, and Caroline and Henry looked at each other and at their father, as if this was a matter respecting which they had not only agreed, but wondered that any one, and especially one whose opinion they so much respected, could entertain a

thought different from theirs. The reply of Mr. L. engaged their feelings still more: 'It is true my daughter, that in defiance of all records of antiquity, whether sacred or profane, and equally regardless of the evidence which our own times may furnish, the African race are often mentioned as if a distinct order of beings, a grade between man and brute;* but—

'O Pa!' interrupted C. 'I have no such idea as that.'

'I know that you have not,' resumed Mr. L., 'but, my daughter, you may not be doing ample justice to the Africans, if you suppose them incapable of the finest sensibilities and sympathies of our nature, and of making great advances in all that requires strength or even brilliancy of intellect.'

* It is earnestly contended by some that the negro race are so inferior by nature to the rest of mankind that perpetual slavery is the destiny to which they are best adapted. They have been stigmatized "the disgrace and misfortune of the human race." Others assert that the skull or cranium of the negro shows him to belong to a distinct species; and to settle the question whether the negro race be not a distinct species, reference has in some instances been made to the cranium. Nothing, however, can be argued from this source against *facts* that show the negro race to be capable of great mental effort and distinction, if such facts can be made to appear; and we think an impartial mind will not, upon inquiry, deny that very many instances of both moral and intellectual distinction among the race can be adduced.

In Rees' Cyclopaedia it is well remarked, "Without denying that there are differences both in the extent and kind of mental power, (in the various races of men,) we are decidedly of opinion that these differences are not sufficient in *any* instance to warrant us in referring a particular race to an originally different species; and we protest especially against the sentiments of those who would either entirely deny to the Africans the enjoyment of reason, or who ascribe to them such vicious, malignant, and treacherous propensities as would degrade them, even below the level of the brute. It can be proved most clearly that there is no circumstance of bodily structure so peculiar to the negro, as not to be found in other far distant nations; no character which does not run into those of other races, by the same insensible gradations as those which connect together all the varieties of mankind."

‘Is it not strange, then, Pa,’ C. inquired, ‘that none of the African race have ever been distinguished for talent? I can easily conceive that Africans may have warm hearts; but it hardly seems to me that you are serious, Pa, when you speak of the capabilities of the African mind?’

‘My daughter may be quite as incredulous then, if told that this very people, now so degraded, and who have been, as if by common consent, so long and so much traduced, were for more than a thousand years the most enlightened people on the face of the globe?’

‘What, Pa, the *Africans*?’

‘Yes, my daughter.’

‘Why, Pa, you surprise me. You certainly do not mean to be understood that Africans have ever been distinguished for genius and intellectual attainments?’

‘I do, my daughter, as strange as it may seem. Africa, unhappy Africa, is now degraded, and wherever are her sons and daughters, they are reproached and trampled under foot; but among her children stand immortalized in history a long list of names, as honorable, for aught I know, as any nation upon earth can produce.’

This, C. professed, was to her a new idea; and Henry, who admitted that he had ‘always thought the Africans a much injured people,’ and who protested that he felt ‘very little respect for those people who sometimes place the African on a level with *baboons*,’ acknowledged ‘that the idea of literature and science associated with an African name’ was as novel to him as it was to Caroline.

‘You do not mean, Pa,’ H. inquired, ‘that any considerable number of Africans have discovered genius, or been distinguished for the cultivation of their minds?’

Caroline declared that she did not ‘know a single instance, unless it be that of Phillis Wheatley, who lived in Boston seventy years ago, and wrote some very pretty poems.’*

* *Phillis* was born in Africa—torn from her country at the age of

‘ You have both of you, my dear children,’ said Mr. L. ‘ heard of CYPRIAN, ST. AUGUSTINE, and TERTULLIAN, those fathers of the church; they were Africans. TERRENCE, who has been called

“ As sweet a bard
“ As ever strung the lyre to song,”

was an African, and was once a slave. Quintillian says that Terrence was the most elegant and refined of all the comedians whose writings appeared on the Roman stage. You have also read of HANNO and HANNIBAL; they were among the valiant ones of Africa. It is said that the science of *Algebra* originated in Africa. And what is more, the time was when *Religion* shed her rays brilliantly upon that now benighted quarter of the globe, and the church was there prosperous. Ecclesiastical history tells us that in one council of the church in that country, assembled on a question of great importance, two hundred and seventy-seven Bishops took their seats.’

Henry now inquired of C. if she had ever thought of these as being Africans; confessing that he had not, although it now seemed to him strange that he never had. He thought that one would hardly suppose, looking at Africa as she now is, that such men were her sons. And C. who knew the fact that these were Africans, and could tell much of the ancient history of Africa, for she was well versed in history, both modern and ancient, but had been so long accustomed to identify the whole of Africa with the specimens she had seen, and to judge of the intellectual powers of all by the present degradation of the great portion of the Negro race

seven, and in 1761 sold to John Wheatley of Boston. “ Allowed to employ herself in study, she rapidly attained a knowledge of the Latin language. In 1772, at the age of nineteen, and still a slave, she published a volume of religious and moral poetry, which passed through several editions ” on both sides the Atlantic. She obtained her freedom in 1775, and died five years afterwards.

in this country, that she had lost sight of so important facts, or at least was unaccustomed to think of them in this connexion, professed to be 'quite ashamed' of herself. 'I really do not know,' she said, 'which most surprises me, my own stupidity in relation to this subject, or the interesting views which open to my mind, by reason of the light which Pa has thrown upon it. But, Pa,' she continued, 'the whole continent of Africa is exceeding degraded now; do you not think that the African intellect, generally, has greatly deteriorated?'

'My daughter,' said Mr. L. 'human nature, in whatever situation, is wronged if we judge of its capacity unfavorably merely because we find that paganism and tyranny degrade those that fall under their influence.* Perhaps, however, we shall pursue this whole subject to greater advantage if, taking time for its consideration and discussion, we call to our aid somewhat of system in arrangement of topics,

* "From the paralyzing influence of slavery, the ancient slaves of all nations, whatever their complexion, were considered inferior in intellect. This is noticed by Homer:

'For half his senses Jove conveys away,
'Whom once he dooms to see the servile day.'

Yet, what was benumbed, was not destroyed. Out of the stagnant pool of slavery arose a Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome; an Æsop, one of the wise men of Greece; a Phædrus, who wrote fables in Iambic verse; an Alcmæon, a Lyric poet; an Epictetus, the celebrated stoic philosopher; and a Terrence, a distinguished dramatic writer among the Romans. * * * The present depressed state of the African mind may be accounted for without supposing any original or permanent inferiority. For thirty centuries they have been the common spoil of the world, and treated as if they were made only for slaves. And as to those who are found in other countries, what could be expected of creatures so circumstanced? Torn from their native soil in a state of nature, kept in the profoundest ignorance, with every obstacle opposed to their improvement, depressed by the most cruel treatment, by a series of wrongs, enough to extinguish the last spark of genius, and with no hope—no incentive to exertion."—*Griffin's Plea for Africa.*

and glance in the first place at the former history of Africa, and then at her condition in later times, noticing the wrongs that have been done her in the prosecution of the slave-trade, and the claims which Africa has upon our sympathy and justice for redress. So that, if you please, we will make this the general plan of our conversations; and as other topics of interest connected with the general subject, and growing out of it, naturally present themselves, they also may be noticed. I am pleased to see you interested in the welfare of Africa, and disposed to acquire correct views, and cherish right feelings in respect to so important a subject. My own sympathies are strongly enlisted in behalf of that much injured people. Their claims to our sympathy and humanity have been too long neglected.'

Both Caroline and Henry expressed much satisfaction with the arrangement proposed, which they assured Mr. L. was very grateful to their feelings, and expressed also a hope that by their attention and improvement, they might be able to give other proof that they appreciate his kindness.

Mr. L. on the other hand, intimated that he had great reason to rejoice that his children gave him so much evidence of their affection and respect, and so much promise in their dutiful, and upright, and ever amiable deportment, of future respectability and usefulness and happiness.

The conversation was now deferred to another time.

CONVERSATION II.

"God drave asunder, and assign'd their lot
"To all the nations. Ample was the boon
"He gave them, in its distribution fair
"And equal; and he bade them dwell in peace."—*Cowper.*

'WELL, my son, Caroline and I are waiting for you that we may take up the subject of our last evening's conversation,' said Mr. L. after a little conversation with C. on various topics, while Henry seemed to be busily engaged in the adjoining room in turning over the pages and examining the contents of a large folio which lay before him.

'I am ready, Pa,' said H. 'I was looking at what is said under the word "Africa," in the Encyclopedia. C. and I have been examining one book after another a great part of the day, to satisfy ourselves from which of the sons of Noah the Africans are descended. The Old Testament has been C.'s chief book of reference, whilst Calmet, and Brown, and others have been searched by me, I confess without much benefit.'

Caroline was confident that their father could give them more information on the subject in one half hour than they might otherwise acquire 'by a whole month's study.'

Mr. L. remarked, 'I think we proposed, last evening, to glance first at the history of the African race: the question you were agitating, then, in respect to their *origin*, is the first to be considered. On this point we must refer to a period which profane history does not reach, but on which the word of God sheds its holy light, teaching us that Africa was planted by the descendants of HAM, the son of Noah.

'Ham, you will recollect, had four sons. Of these it is generally agreed, that Cush settled in Lower Egypt, and

that from him were descended the ancient Æthiopians, known to us as the Nubians and Abyssinians, and embracing also those unknown nations inhabiting the equatorial regions of the African continent. Hence, "*Cush*" is the name applied in the Hebrew Bible to Æthiopia, embracing also in its frequent application Africa in general. Mizraim, the second son, peopled what was known to the ancients as the Thebais, Hermopolis, Memphis, and Delta of the Nile; but better known to us as parts of Upper and Lower Egypt, sometimes called in the Hebrew scriptures "the land of Ham," oftener "Mizraim." From him also were descended the inhabitants of Colchis, the ancestors of the warlike Philistines. Phut, another son, peopled Lybia and Mauritania, embracing the kingdom of Fez, the Deserts, Algiers, and other portions. From these, with such additions as emigration and frequent conquest have given, it is probable that all the nations of Africa, however divided, mixed or dispersed, originally came.'

Henry suggested, 'You have not mentioned Canaan, telling us where he settled; I suppose, from the omission, that he settled in Asia, in the country called by his name?'

'Yes: Canaan, the youngest son of Ham, settled in "Canaan," so called after him, which is sometimes called in scripture "Judah," and is also familiarly known by us as the "land of promise," and is also called "Palestine."—A colony of Phœnicians, known in scripture as Canaanites, settled at Carthage, and probably spread themselves over other portions of Africa.'

C. here referred to an impression on the minds of many that Africans generally are descended from *Canaan*; and that they are therefore doomed to perpetual slavery by the curse which Noah denounced against him, Genesis, 9: 25–27. She thought she had heard advanced, or had somewhere read a sentiment of the kind.

H. thought they who suppose this, should have better reasons for considering the Africans descended from Canaan,

before they make such an application of the words of Noah. Being requested by his father, he read the passage : "Cursed be Canaan ; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant."

'That,' observed Mr. L. 'is truly a remarkable prophecy. It is supposed by Commentators to have been recorded for the encouragement of the Israelites in warring with the Canaanites. The passage is attended with some difficulty in the minds of many, who, to obviate that difficulty, read the original, "Cursed be *Ham*, the *father* of Canaan;" in which case you see that Africa would, beyond doubt, be affected by the denunciation. And if it have not this meaning, it may indeed be difficult to see the propriety of applying the curse to Africa at large.'

It was very natural that both C. and H., who had been giving their close attention to the instructions of Mr. L., should here ask, for they did not see, 'why any should change the reading of the translation to make the curse rest on Ham!' The difficulty, however, which some have found, or imagined, in the proper application of the denunciation, Mr. L. explained, referring them to the 24th verse of the same chapter, which verse immediately precedes the denunciation, and reads as follows ; "And awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him."

Henry now saw, at once, the difficulty. 'His *younger* son,' H. exclaimed ; 'Ham was Noah's second son, was he not, Pa ?'

'Yes ; it appears that Ham was the *second*, and not the *youngest*, as they suppose is implied by the term in the original translated *younger*. But the way in which Ham is introduced in connexion with the subject of Noah's intoxication and exposure, ("And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told it to his two brethren

without,") has led some to infer that Ham was the youngest. At the same time, the frequent mention of Canaan, in connexion with the transaction, has suggested to the mind of others that Canaan was also criminal; and, by them, the expression, "knew what his *younger* son had done," is thought to refer to Canaan, the grandson. Canaan, they suppose, first discovered Noah's situation and told it to Ham.*

'Be all this as it may, the history of this painful transaction, is full of serious instruction. You see a very striking contrast between the conduct of Ham in exposing to his brethren Noah's disgraceful fall, and their commendable deportment in doing what they could to conceal their father's infirmity and guilt. It is very evident that Ham could lay claim to none of the finer sensibilities of our nature if judged by this one act. His behaviour was exceeding unamiable and reprehensible; and he must have felt the rebuke to be deserved, when his own father was inspired to predict the consequent oppression and slavery of his posterity. And Canaan, if guilty, as has been supposed, was as severely rebuked, knowing that the curse would rest especially on that branch of the family which should descend from himself. The example of Shem and Japheth on the occasion is worthy of commendation; and a blessing belongs to those who imitate their amiable deportment, as a curse assuredly awaits all who copy in their spirit or conduct the pattern of Ham and Canaan.

'To your inquiry, Henry, whether the prediction of Noah has been evidently fulfilled in the descendants of Ham or Canaan, I would reply, that if we are to consider the

* "The Hebrews believe that Canaan, having first discovered Noah's nakedness, told his father Ham: and that Noah, when he awoke, having understood what had passed, cursed Canaan, the first reporter of his exposure. Others are of opinion, that Noah, knowing nothing more displeasing to Ham, than cursing Canaan, resolved to punish him in his son."—*Calmet*.

curse as resting on the descendants of Ham *generally*, we may see its fulfilment in the wrongs which unhappy Africa has suffered by the oppression and servitude to which her children have so long been subjected. The history of Africa for a long period, has been, for the most, one of deep suffering, ignominy, outrage and crime; a tale of sorrow broken by few intervals of happiness or of rest. It has been justly remarked of the whole continent, that it "has lain, like some huge and passive victim, with darkness throned like an incubus upon its bosom, while every reptile of evil omen and hateful form has preyed undisturbed on its palsied extremities." At the North of Africa, "the conflicting interest and crooked policy of Europe permitting an organized system of piracy;" Egypt, from the days of Cambyzes, a tributary province, and prey of the rapacious Mameluke; in Abyssinia, the lamp of Christian truth glimmering in its socket, and casting its flickering beams on a degraded and brutalized population; ignorance and barbarism consolidated and established by Mahometan influence in the South of Africa; at the Cape of Good Hope, human nature degraded and oppressed; and on the West of Africa, the slave factory and slave ship doing their accursed work and sweeping into distant and hopeless bondage unhappy thousands; Africa may truly be said to have had the very dregs of bitter affliction wrung out of her.*

'But what, Sir, if the denunciation of Noah is considered to be against Canaan and his posterity alone?'

'We shall still be at no loss to find in *their* history a remarkable fulfilment. The devoted nations which God destroyed before Israel, were descended from Canaan; and so were the Phœnicians, and the Carthagenians who were subjugated with dreadful destruction by the Greeks and Romans. The descendants of Canaan, as a general knowledge of the outlines of history, will be sufficient to show, have been subjected to those of Shem and Japheth through many generations.'

‘The whole posterity of Ham then appear to have been signally the victims of misfortune and oppression?’

‘They certainly have, my son.’

‘I have been running my eye over this Commentary,’ said C. ‘on the passage of scripture to which we have referred; shall I read a sentence? Bishop Newton, you will see, Pa, takes it for granted that the curse denounced is upon Ham and *all his descendants*.

‘Read it, Caroline.’

Caroline reads the sentence she proposed: “The whole continent of Africa was peopled principally by the descendants of Ham;* and for many ages have the better parts of that country lain under the dominion of the Romans, and then of the Saracens, and now of the Turks! In what wickedness, ignorance, barbarity, slavery, and misery, live most of the inhabitants!—and of the poor negroes, how many hundreds, every year, are sold and bought, like beasts in the market, and conveyed from one quarter of the world to do the work of beasts in another!” ‘But, Pa,’ said she, ‘even if the whole race of Africans are embraced in the curse, it does not therefore afford a vindication of slavery, or excuse for the cruel oppression of the African, does it?’

‘No, Caroline: God has not, as I think, authorized us to enslave Africans, whatever authority may be claimed for Israel to drive out, and scatter and destroy the idolatrous Canaanites. The covetous desires and barbarous practices of those who seek to enrich themselves with the products of the sweat and blood of Africa’s unhappy sons, and for this purpose tear them away from their native country, are without apology. Nor, whether the prediction and denunciation of Noah affect Canaan and his descendants alone, or Ham and his posterity generally, is it to be supposed that Africa is therefore either the lawful prey of violence and outrage,

* From the name of HAM, also written *Cham*, signifying *burnt, swarthy, black*, an argument has sometimes been raised in favor of this position.—See *Calmet*.

or that she is doomed to perpetual degradation and wrongs. Admitting that the prediction has been remarkably fulfilled, whether on Canaan, or Africa generally; and that however wicked the oppressor has been, he was a scourge in the hand of God, fulfilling a just decree, and an important prediction involving the authenticity of a portion of the sacred volume; still, neither are the oppressors therefore innocent, nor are we to suppose that the oppressed are never to cease to be the victims of the denunciatory decree. The same Scriptures which, turning to Africa, appeal for one testimony of their truth to the fulfilment of the curse, are, we should remember, also to gather another argument from the fulfilment of the prediction which says—“*Æthiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.*” This prediction and promise *must* be fulfilled, nor can all the world stay the Almighty arm that will be uplifted to break the rod of her oppressors. Africa will be free. Her chains will fall.

‘We will resume the subject this evening.’

CONVERSATION III.

“How are we astonished when we reflect that to the race of negroes, at present our slaves, and the object of our extreme contempt, we owe our arts and sciences and even the very use of speech; and that in the midst of those nations who call themselves the friends of liberty and humanity, involuntary servitude is justified, while it is even a problem whether the understanding of Negroes be of the same species with that of white men.”—*Volney.*

‘WELL, Pa, I suppose you remember the encouragement which you gave us that you would resume the interesting subject of Africa this evening?’ said Caroline, as she saw her father lay aside the ‘Evening News’ and remove his spectacles from his eyes, the well known signal to the children that the hour of leisure was come. ‘You closed the conversation, this morning, with reference to that important prediction of Scripture, “*Æthiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God*,” are we to understand the Prophet who utters this, to have reference to Africa generally, or to the descendants of Cush, the grandson of Noah only?’

‘The word *Æthiopia* in our English Bibles, it is true, is *Cush* in the original Hebrew; but the term seems to have a more extended application than the names of either of Ham’s other sons. Cush, or *Æthiopia*, is a name by which Africans *in general* have been known. Whether it is because the race of Africans are mostly descendants of Cush, that this term is more used, which I think highly probable, I am not able to determine; but such is the fact—*Æthiopia* is a term of extensive application.’

Henry having here inquired ‘whether the Cushites, or *Æthiopians*, were always black,’ Mr. L. replied, ‘There can be no doubt that this people were black as long ago as the days of Jeremiah; and, if we are to credit Arabian testi-

mony, ages before. Jeremiah asks, "Can the Cushite (Æthiopian) change his skin?" Æthiopian is a name derived from two Greek words denoting the color of the skin, ($\alpha\omega$, to burn, $\alpha\chi$, the countenance—that is, *burnt-face*,) on account of the Cushite's dark complexion.'

'What,' asked Henry, 'was the complexion of the ancient Egyptians; were they black also?'

'Herodotus, who, you know, is called the father of history, says, speaking of the ancient Colchos, since called Mingrelia, whose inhabitants were originally Egyptians, and colonized when Sesostris, king of Egypt, extended his conquests in the north, "For my part, I believe the Colchi to be a colony of *Egyptians, because, like them, they have black skins and frizzled hair.*"* The inhabitants of Egypt, how-

* In another place this celebrated historian, who flourished in the fifth century before the coming of Christ, and who travelled extensively in Egypt, and one of whose books is devoted to a description of its inhabitants, their manners, customs, character, arts and history, derived from personal inspection of the country and the narratives of their learned men, relates a fabulous account of the establishment of the temple of Dodona in Greece, by, as he explains the fable, an Egyptian priestess, represented by a black dove; and says that the circumstance of its "being *black* explains the *Egyptian origin* of the priestess." In speaking of these remarks of Herodotus, Volney says, "it shows that the ancient Egyptians were real negroes, of the same species with all the natives of Africa: and though, as might be expected, after mixing for so many ages with the Greeks and Romans, they have lost the intensity of their first color, yet they still retain strong marks of their original conformation." Diodorus Siculus, another ancient historian, informs us that "the Ethiopians consider the Egyptians as one of their colonies." It may greatly startle some who have heard of "the fame of Egypt's wisdom—of the gigantic size of her eternal pyramids—the splendor of her twenty-thousand cities—of Thebes with her hundred gates and superb palaces and temples—of the wisdom of her laws and policy—of her mighty conqueror SESOSTRIS, who drew kings at his chariot wheels, and left monumental inscriptions of his prowess from Ethiopia to India," to be told that "Egypt—ancient, renowned, victorious Egypt, the mother of science and arts, both ancient and modern, was *inhabited by negroes*—that Egyptians were in fact black and curly-headed," especially

ever, have long been a mixed community of Copts, Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, Turks, and Mamelukes. The Copts are generally supposed to be the representatives of the ancient Egyptians, and it is said prove their origin by a striking resemblance to the paintings and sculptures of the ancient temples, and to the mummies.* They are generally de-

if they have been accustomed to think with a distinguished governor of the south, that God has "stamped inferiority and slavery on the negroes' brow." The author, however, does not here undertake to settle this question—his object is impartially to state the facts in the case. There are many that have high claim to literature who unhesitatingly contend that the negro may prove "his illustrious consanguinity, allied in blood—in brotherhood—in color—even in his short and curling hair, to the conquerors and instructors of mankind."

The Hon. Alexander H. Everett, a finished scholar of great research, and who would not make the assertion inconsiderately, has said of them, "It is sometimes pretended, that, though Africans, and of Ethiopian extraction, they were not black. But what says the father of history, who had travelled among them, and knew their appearance as well as we know that of our neighbors in Canada? Herodotus tells us that the Egyptians were blacks, with curled hair. Some writers have undertaken to dispute his authority, but I cannot bring myself to believe that the father of history did not know black from white."

* It may be proper here to remark that there has been some diversity of opinion among the learned in regard to the character of Egyptian mummies. "Blumenbach has observed in the craniums of mummies that which characterizes the negro race." Volney "saw the figure of a sphynx, (an ancient monster of Egypt,) and found the features exactly those of a negro." Gregoire, and many others, adhere to the opinions of Volney and Blumenbach. The present Copts, descendants from the ancient Egyptians, but mixed with the Persians and still more with the Greeks, have appeared to some perfect mulattoes. Mr. Browne, a late traveller, could see in them no resemblance to the negro features or form, and affirms that their dusky brown, and no darker color, is found in the paintings of the tombs of Thebes, and that the ancient monuments, paintings and statues, generally exhibit the visage, not of negroes, but of the *modern Copts*. If the same form of skull is found in the Egyptian mummies, as Blumenbach asserts, and once contained, as Volney

scribed as of a dusky complexion, dark and curled hair, thick lips, and scanty beard. In some features, they differ from the negro race on the western coast of Africa, and in the interior. There are, indeed, slight shades of variety which distinguish all the different tribes of Africa. It may not be necessary to enter on a particular description of each. However diversified may be the different tribes, there can be no doubt of their common origin as descendants of Ham, if we except those who have from time to time migrated from other portions of the earth; nor can there be any reasonable doubt that the African "Cush," or "Æthiopia," is the appropriate term or representative of the African race in general. Commentators differ, it is true, in respect to the countries which were originally included under the name 'Æthiopia;' Michaelis supposes it to include African Æthiopia and Southern Arabia; Gesenius says it is to be confined in its application to Africa alone. Rosenmüller contends that it embraces all countries whose inhabitants were black. There is, certainly, a striking accordance of complexion, language, manners, customs, &c. by which the inhabitants of the south and west of Africa, and all those who are known to be of Æthiopian extraction, are assimilated.'

'The complexion of Africans is caused by climate, is it not, Pa?'

'I suspect, Henry, that neither the African complexion, nor features, can be ascribed wholly to climate; but must be referred to native variety at first, perpetuated by inter-marriages among the same race.'

says, the profound genius of the Egyptians; and if it be a fact, as it undoubtedly is, that the modern Copts are descended from the ancient Egyptians by a mixture of the blood of other nations, the presumption is strong in favor of the idea that the Egyptians were negroes—especially when these facts are taken in connection with the testimony of ancient historians. The argument derived from the ancient paintings, monuments, &c. has its weight, however, and especially if the testimony of travellers on this point should not be contradictory.

‘Just, I suppose, as a part of the same brood being white and a part black, each sort may be perpetuated, as naturalists tell us, by pairing together those of the same color?’ said Henry.

Caroline here remarked, ‘Mr. Bruce, the traveller, says, he found in Abyssinia, a tradition which had been handed down from time immemorial, that Cush was their father, and that he actually dwelt there. The tradition purports that, soon after the flood, Cush, the grandson of Noah, with his family, still terrified with the remembrance of the flood, and fearing a repetition of the same calamity, dared not remain in the plains, but travelled until he came to certain mountains in Abyssinia, and there settled. It says, further, that there Cush and his people (with indescribable labor, requiring arts and instruments utterly unknown to *us*) formed themselves commodious and wonderful habitations, composed of solid granite and marble, which dwellings are now entire, and will remain so till the consummation of all things; and that still avoiding the low countries, they advanced along the different ridges and chains of mountains across the whole continent of Africa. The more Henry and I examine into this subject, however, the more difficult it seems to determine satisfactorily and beyond the possibility of contradiction, which, if either, alone of the sons of Ham, is entitled to the honor of being considered the principal progenitor of the African race. We have felt great curiosity, since our last conversation, to find the arguments which go to show that the Africans, as the descendants of Canaan, are suffering their present degradation in fulfilment of the curse pronounced by Noah. Our examination only renders “darkness more visible.” One author quotes from Procopius, who says, that when the Canaanites were driven from their country by the Israelites, they first retreated into Egypt, and gradually penetrated the continent of Africa, where they built many cities, and spread themselves over vast regions, till they reached the straits of Gibraltar. This

would embrace the whole northern part of Africa, or the Barbary States. This author says, that in the ancient city of Tongis, founded by them, were two great pillars of white stone, near a large fountain, inscribed with Phœnician characters, "We are people preserved by flight from the robber Jesus, (Joshua,) the son of Naver, who pursued us." Another author says, "in the time of Athanasius, the Africans continued to say that they were descended from the *Canaanites*, and when asked their origin, they answered '*Cunani*.'"

'All this,' said Mr. L., 'is in corroboration of the position which I have taken. Admitting that the Canaanites mingled with other tribes in Egypt and all along the coast of the Mediterranean to the Strait of Gibraltar, still we must look for the peopling of the vast interior of Africa, and the west and south, from another source. It is almost a matter of demonstration, that the Cushites settled the greater parts of Africa; for such is the geographical situation of the country, as you will see at once by the map, that the natives bordering the Mediterranean coast are separated from the rest of the continent by an almost boundless and impassable wilderness—the Lybian desert and the great desert of Sahara, which, together, extend across the continent from the west of Egypt to the Atlantic ocean. The deserts are an ocean of sand, and in some places eight hundred miles in breadth. This, the only highway to the south and interior of Africa, was occupied by the Cushites, who had nothing to prevent them from spreading into all regions south, now occupied by the negro race. It makes but little difference, however, from which of the grandsons of Noah the natives of this, that, or the other part of Africa are descended. There is intellect among them all. They have had their distinguished men in every tribe, so far as we have known any thing concerning the different tribes, and there is, and can be no impediment, no anathema of heaven, no forfeiture of their right as men among men, which can justify their being torn from the scenes of domes-

tic life, from country and home, to spend their days in bondage. There is nothing, and can be nothing to annul and defeat the decree which sounds from the throne of the Eternal, "Æthiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."'

'I have no doubt, Pa, that the view which you have taken of the subject is correct. I think it is, on the whole, of very little importance whether most of the blood of Cush, or Canaan, of Mizraim, or Phut, runs in the veins of the present population of Africa. It seems that they have been higher than they now are in the scale of intellectual and moral attainments, and that they may rise again for aught we know. I have the impression, Pa, that very little of the interior of Africa is at present known by the people of other countries?'

'Yes, my daughter, very little, comparatively. Bruce, Ledyard, Park, Riley, Bowditch, Denham, Clapperton, Laing, the Landers, and numerous adventurers, have from time to time added to our store of information; but still comparatively little is known. To penetrate far into the heart of Africa has been found so difficult and arduous a performance, that it has been very partially accomplished. Still, enough is known of Africa in respect to her ancient glory, and her present susceptibility of mental and moral impressions, to authorize the expectation that she may be raised to a high rank of moral worth and of intellectual respectability. That continent which, notwithstanding her present degradation, is pronounced in history by common consent the birth-place and cradle of civilization and of the arts and sciences, cannot always, must not long be shrouded in darkness, and borne down by oppression. Seeing what Africa has been, and what she may yet be, our sympathies enkindle towards her. It cannot be otherwise than that they will.

'The Cushites, or Æthiopians, let me tell you, established the first regular police which history records. The first great city described in history was built by them. They surround

ed it with walls, which, according to Rollin, were eighty-seven feet in thickness, three hundred and fifty feet in height, and four hundred and eighty furlongs in circumference. And even this stupendous work they shortly after eclipsed by another, of which Diodorus says, "Never did any city come up to the greatness and magnificence of this. Pyramids, obelisks, and mausolea still stand, as if in mockery of the very credulity of man, a memorial of that spirit of daring enterprise and skill which made Egypt the mother of science, and, for a time, the mistress of the world!"

'It is a fact well attested by history, that Æthiopians once bare sway not only in all Africa, but over almost all Asia. And it is said that even two continents could not afford field enough for the expansion of their energies. "They found their way into Europe, and made the settlement on the western coast of Spain, called from them 'Iberian Æthiopia.'" And, says a distinguished writer, "wherever they went, they were rewarded for their wisdom."

'That very light which long since blazed before the world in Greece and Rome, and which now rises to its noon-day splendor under the auspices of Christianity, in Europe and America, be it remembered, my dear children, was kindled on the dark shores of Africa.* When I think of

* "It was during the 18th dynasty of Egyptian kings that the first colonization of Greece took place. Three steps lead us from Athens through Rome to the institutions of England; to all and every of the advantages and blessings we possess of fully developed civilization. * * With them, civilized society may be said to have originated on the wreck of the cyclopean or pastoral community; and during this dynasty all the most momentous events connected with the human race appear to have occurred. To this dynasty, either at its origin or during its progress, may be traced the greatest events that concern our social well-being at this very day—the establishment of judicial, legislative, and fiscal departments of government be assigned to it—and of the whole frame-work of political mechanism necessary to give motion, steadiness, and permanence to the social machine. * * The sublime and magnificent monuments erected by this ancient race of monarchs on the plain embraced by

these things, my spirit stirs within me, and I am almost impatient to see that light reflected back on Africa again—

‘the hundred-gated Thebes’ attest to this day, their taste, their ambition, their wealth, and their power. They suggest ideas of the works of fabled enchanters rather than of ordinary human beings. It was that myriad-columned plain, beneath its gorgeous archways and gigantic colonnades, that Champollion, in the excited language of astonishment, exclaimed, ‘these porticoes must be the work of men one hundred feet in height!’ It appeared to me, says Belzoni, like entering a city of giants. Rossellini’s illustrations prove that imagination itself has scarcely invested this line of potentates with attributes of too surprising a character: Rossellini proves, that so far from making any extraordinary advance in the arts, contributing to the splendor or the comfort of society, we have yet to recover *artes perditæ* (lost arts) known to the Pharaohs of the dynasty to which we refer. There are many effects of art which the Egyptians at this time produced, *which we are not capable of accomplishing*. Some rest on contemporary evidence, others are demonstrated by the palpable evidence brought before our eyes by Rossellini, (pictorial representations taken from the walls of Egyptian temples.) We see the sculptors in the act of cutting the inscriptions on the granite, obelisk and tablets; we see a pictorial copy of the chisel and tools with which this operation was performed. But *our* tools would not cut this stone with the precision of outline which the inscriptions retain to this day. Setting aside the *lost art* of hardening copper implements of war, what means had the Egyptians of hardening their iron or steel implements for the purpose in question? *We have at all events lost this art*. The same arguments may apply to some of their cameos and intaglios, with this addition, that the minute delicacy of their details could only be effected by means of a microscope. We could not produce them without its aid. The Hebrew legislator inferentially ascribes to the Egyptian chemist the art of making gold liquid, and of retaining it in that state. This *we* have not the power to do. The productions of the goldsmiths and silversmiths of Thebes are exhibited (pictorially) by Rossellini. He exhibits gold and silver turcens, urns, vases, &c. of the most exquisitely beautiful workmanship, in tasteful as well as magnificent forms. An Egyptian sideboard, with all its details, not excluding dishes, plates, knives and spoons, near 4,000 years ago, bore striking resemblance to the sideboards of our modern palaces and villas. Not the slightest improvement has been made in the tasteful forms of their household furniture to this day. After our enumeration of some of the early arts, including the *artes*

yes, the light of science combined with the glorious light of the gospel of Christ.'

perditæ of ancient Egypt, our readers may have been tempted to exclaim, "there is nothing new under the sun!" But the exclamation would be still more justifiable and appropriate after a complete survey of the trades and manufactures of Egypt (exhibited in Rossellini's representations copied from the Egyptian temples.) The whole process of manufacturing silk and cotton, with all its details of reeling, carding, weaving, dyeing, and *patterning*, may be more especially named."—*Foreign Quarterly Review*.

"Mankind instead of advancing, are just attaining to the standard of ancient *African* science and art. * * The tables indeed are turned; the African has fallen from his peerless elevation. He now withers under the shadow and the strong arm of the white man; but let him be transplanted—let him be returned to his native home, bearing back with him the derived arts, science and civilization of his ancestors, and once more he shall regain—perhaps surpass his ancient glory."—*Cincinnati Jour. and Luminary*.

CONVERSATION IV.

"Cruel as death, insatiate as the grave,
False as the winds that round his vessel blow,
Remorseless as the gulf that yawns below,
Is he who toils upon the wafting blood,
A Christian broker in the trade of blood."—*Montgomery.*

'I AM glad, Pa,' said Caroline to her father, who had given intimation of his disposition to take up the subject again after tea, and who had just risen from the table and seated himself in his chair by the fire, 'that we may again claim a little of your time, and tax your kindness to tell us more of Africa. I shall certainly think more of that much injured quarter of the globe for the time to come, and shall abhor slavery more than ever. What strange reverses there are in the history of man! We would never suppose from any thing that is seen in Africa now, that she was ever distinguished for any thing but ignorance, barbarism, and brutality.'

'There is much, my daughter, to be seen in Africa even *now*, of her former greatness. There is yet to be found honor, bravery, intellect, genius, learning, and rank.* We have had proof of this from those who, as victims of our cupidity, have been transported slaves to this boasted land of freedom. Amongst them have been torn away, in some instances, the Princes of Africa, and others of her distinguished ones. They came oppressed, their noble spirits

* "We cannot but admire the reasoning and humanity of those who, after tearing the African from his native soil, and dooming him to perpetual labor, complain that his understanding shows no signs of improvement, and that his temper and disposition are incorrigibly perverse, faithless, and treacherous."—*Rees.*

broken down, the whole man subdued by the extinction of the last ray of hope, severed from all on earth most dear, and stepped upon these shores loaded with chains—it may be, bleeding with stripes; and they were held in this “land of the free,” in bondage—among a people of strange tongue—placed on a level with the most degraded of the miserable—tasked—and it is possible, for it is often asserted, lashed to quicken them in their heartless toil: but notwithstanding all, they have discovered still, under all these almost insupportable causes of depression, the lineaments of a noble spirit, a lofty mind! Although they came from a country where despotism and paganism exert all their influence to sink the human character, these men have held the pen of a ready scribe, and spoken with the tongue of the eloquent—writing the Arabic, and the language of their respective tribes, with facility and elegance, and uttering the same apparently with the fluency and ease of the distinguished among our own orators.’

Henry here mentioned that he had ‘lately read an account of one such African, called PRINCE MORO. I saw it,’ said he, ‘in an old number of a file of the Episcopal, or Philadelphia, Recorder. Annexed were some remarks of the late Dr. Bedell, of that city, who also certified to the truth of the article, he having known Prince and often conversed with him at the south.’

Mr. L. recollected the case of Prince Moro very well; and was able at once to refer to a number of the Christian Advocate, where was found recorded, on the authority of a gentleman of Fayetteville, North Carolina, at which place Prince resided, the following outlines of his history:

“About the year 1808 a South Carolina planter purchased a gang of slaves, among whom was a man of a slender frame and delicate constitution, who was not able to labor in the field, or had not the disposition to do so. His health failing, he was considered of no value, and disregarded. At length he strolled off, and wandering from planta-

tion to plantation, reached Fayetteville, was taken up as a runaway, and put in jail, where he remained some time. As no one claimed him, and he appeared of no value, the jail was thrown open that he might run away; but he had no disposition to make his escape. The boys amused themselves with his good-natured, playful behavior, and fitted up a temporary desk, made of a flour barrel, on which he wrote in a masterly hand, writing from right to left, in what was, to them, an unknown language. He was also noticed by some gentlemen of the place; but his keeper grew tired of so useless a charge, and he was publicly sold for his jail dues. His purchaser, a gentleman living about thirty miles from Fayetteville, finding him rather of a slender make, took him into his family as a house servant. Here he soon became a favorite of the inmates of the house. His good conduct in a short time put him in possession of all his master's stores, and he gradually acquired a knowledge of the English language. His master being a pious man, he was instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, which he received with great pleasure; and he seemed to see beauties in the plan of the gospel which had never appeared to him in the Koran; for he had been reared and instructed in the Mahomedan religion, and it was found that the scraps of writing from his pen were mostly passages from the Koran. It would seem that he was a PRINCE in his own country, which must have been far in the interior of Africa—perhaps Timbuctoo or its neighborhood. At all events, his intercourse with the Arabs had enabled him to write and to speak their language with the most perfect ease.

“Some of the Africans pretend to say he was what they call a ‘*pray-God*, to the king,’ by which may be understood, a priest, or learned man, who offers up prayers for the king of his nation, and is of his household. His dignified deportment showed him to be of a superior cast—his humility, that of a peaceful subject, not a despot. In his person he is well formed, of a middle size, small hands and feet, and erect in

his deportment. His complexion and hair, as well as the form of the head, are distinctly of the African character. Some years since, he united himself to the Presbyterian church in Fayetteville, of which he continues an orderly and respectable member. A gentleman who felt a strong interest for the 'good Prince Moro,' as he is called, sent to the British Bible Society, and procured for him an Arabic Bible; so that he now reads the Scriptures in his native language, and blesses Him who has caused good to come out of evil, by making him a slave."

'Pa, did Prince return to his native land?'

'I suspect not, Caroline. His good master offered to send him to his native land, his home, and his friends; but he said, "No,—this is my home, and here are my friends, and here is my Bible; I enjoy all I want in this world. If I should return to my native land, the fortune of war might transport me to a country where I should be deprived of the greatest of all blessing, that of worshipping the true and living God and his Son Jesus Christ, whom to worship and serve is eternal life."'

'Pa,' said Caroline, with eyes glistening in moisture, 'the gentleman who bought Prince, and used him so kindly, and instructed him, must have felt amply rewarded and greatly happy to find this poor Mahomedan become an humble follower of the Lord Jesus? And it would seem almost as if Cowper had written expressly to suit the case of Prince, speaking the very feeling of his heart, and almost his very words, in those lines,

"My dear deliverer out of hopeless night,
Whose bounty bought me but to give me light;
I was a bondman on my native plain,
Sin forged, and ignorance made fast the chain;
Thy lips have shed instruction as the dew,
Taught me what path to shun, and what pursue;
Farewell my former joys! I sigh no more
For Africa's once loved, benighted shore;
Serving a benefactor, I am free,
At my best home, if not exiled from thee!"

Henry said, 'Dr. Bedell stated that Prince had been educated at Timbuctoo, and that he could write Arabic in a most beautiful manner. He composed a history of his own life, said Dr. B. which was sent to some of our literary institutions. Prince belonged to the *Foulah tribe*.'

'A more interesting case still,' said Mr. L. 'is that of the Moorish Prince, ABDUHL RAHAHMAN, who was sent out to Liberia by the American Colonization Society, but who died soon after his arrival in Africa. He was a slave in this country nearly forty years, and then obtained his freedom. He was born in the city of Timbuctoo, in 1762. His uncle was a king. His father was governor of Footah Jallo for a time, and then on the colony becoming independent, was king of Footah Jallo. Prince, after completing his education, entered his father's army, soon rose to distinction, was appointed to the command of an army, and marched against the Hebohs, a tribe at the north of Footah Jallo. He entered their country to punish them for destroying vessels that came to the coast, and for preventing the trade. Having put the Hebohs to flight, and set their towns on fire, he commenced his retreat; the Hebohs rallied, however, and by a circuitous route and rapid marches, intercepted him, and ambushed themselves in a narrow defile of a mountain through which Prince was to pass. The consequence was, that Prince and a part of his army were made prisoners, and sold to the Mandingoes, and finally sold by them to a slave ship, on the coast. Prince was brought to this country, and sold to a gentleman residing at Natchez, Mississippi. During the whole time of his bondage, Prince was never known to be intoxicated or guilty of a falsehood, or of a dishonest or mean action. He submitted to his fate without a murmur, and was an industrious and faithful servant, intelligent, modest and obliging to all. His manners are represented as not only prepossessing, but dignified. Though born and raised in affluence, and now reduced to abject servitude, he bore his trials all with fortitude, and carried still

“a noble mien.” The story of his life, which is eventful and interesting, we have from his own mouth, corroborated by a train of circumstances and events which, in their order and developement, are truly remarkable.

‘Dr. Cox, late a distinguished physician in Natchez, was in his early days a surgeon on board a ship which visited the coast of Africa. In one of his excursions on shore he lost his way, and the ship sailed and left him. In his wanderings he came to Footah Jallo. The people saw him, and ran and told the king of the “white man.” The king ordered Dr. C. to be brought to him. Prince accompanied the Doctor to his father’s house, where he was hospitably treated, and during a long and painful sickness was attended with the utmost kindness and humanity. After his recovery from sickness, he was conveyed by his hospitable host and attendants to the sea-shore, where he found a ship and returned to this country. Prince had been sixteen years a slave in this country when Dr. Cox removed to Natchez, and he and Prince met and recognized each other in the streets of that city.

‘Prince’s account of Dr. Cox’s residence in his father’s family, and of his interview with him on their first meeting in Natchez, is deeply affecting. Prince says, that when Dr. Cox was brought to his father “he was asked where he was going? The Doctor said he did not know where to go—he was lost—the ship had left him—and he had a sore leg, which he had wounded in travelling. My father told him he had better go no further, but stay with him, and he would get a woman to cure his leg. It was soon cured. My father told him to stay as long as he chose. He remained six months. One day my father asked him if he wished to go to his own country. He said yes. My father said, what makes you desire to go back, you are treated well here? He answered, that his father and mother would be anxious when the vessel returned without him, thinking he might be dead. My father told him, ‘whenever you

wish to go, I will send a guard to accompany you to the ship.' Then fifteen men were sent with him by my father for a guard, and he gave the Doctor gold to pay his passage home. My father told the guard that if a vessel was there they must leave the Doctor but must not go on board the ship; and if there was no vessel, they must bring the Doctor back. They waited some time, and then found the same vessel in which he came, and he went on board."

'Prince continues, "After that I was taken prisoner, and sent to Natchez. When I had been there sixteen years Dr. Cox removed to Natchez, and one day I met him in the street. I said to a man who came with me from Africa, 'Sambo, that man rides like a white man I saw in my country. See, when he rides by; if he open but one eye, that is the same man.'" When he came up, hating to stop him without reason, I said, 'Master, do you want to buy some potatoes? While he looked at the potatoes I knew him, but he did not know me. He said, 'Boy, where did you come from?' I said 'from Col. F's.' He said 'Col. F. did not *raise* you?' Then he said, 'you came from Teembo?' I answered, 'yes.' He said, 'your name is Abduhl Rahahman?' Then springing from his horse he embraced me, and inquired how I came to this country. Then he said, 'dash down your potatoes and come to my house.' He rode quick, and called a negro woman to take the potatoes from my head. Then he sent for Gov. W. to come and see me. When Gov. W. came, Dr. Cox said, 'I have been to this man's father's house, and they treated me as kindly as my own parents.' The next morning he tried to purchase me, but my master was unwilling to sell me. He offered large sums for me, but they were refused. Then he said to master, 'If you will not part with him, use him well.' After that, Dr. Cox died, and his son offered a great price for me."

'Prince's own account of his capture is also interesting. When returning from the country of the Hebohs it seems he was unapprehensive of any enemy being near, and he

says, "We dismounted and led our horses until we were half way up the mountain. Then they fired upon us. We saw the smoke, we heard the guns, and saw the people drop down. I told every one to run until we reached the top of the hill, then to wait for each other until all came there and we would fight them. They followed us, and we ran and fought. I saw that this would not do. I told every one to run who wished to do so. I said, 'I will not run for an *African*.' I got down from my horse, and sat down. One came behind and shot me in the shoulder. One came before and pointed his gun to shoot me, but seeing my clothes ornamented with gold, he cried out, 'That the King.' When they came to me I had a sword under me, but they did not see it. The first one that came I sprang upon and killed. They knocked me down with a gun and I fainted. They carried me to a pond of water and dipped me in. After I came to myself they bound me, and then pulled off my shoes and made me go on barefoot one hundred miles, and led my horse before me. As soon as my people got home my father raised a troop and came after me: and as soon as the Hebohs knew that he was coming they carried me into the wilderness. My father came and burnt their country. They carried me to the Mandingo country, on the Gambia, and sold me, with fifty others, to an English ship. They took me to the Island of Dominica; after that I was taken to New Orleans, then to Natchez."

'Prince was educated a Mahomedan. He was friendly disposed to the Christian religion, admiring the precepts of the Bible, but asserting that *Christians do not follow them!*

'After the liberation of Prince, whilst preparing for his return to Africa, he visited Hartford, Connecticut, and there found an aged African who had been a soldier in the army of his father! He, whose present name was Stirling, corroborated many particulars which I have now related concerning Prince.'

CONVERSATION V.

“Breathes there the man, with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land!
Whose heart hath ne’er within him burned,
As home his footsteps he hath turned?”—*Scott.*

‘WELL, Henry, where is Caroline?—O, here she comes, Well, Caroline, you are not wearied, I hope, with the subject of Africa?’

‘Pa, indeed I am not. I am always glad to see the hour return when we may resume the subject. The case of Prince Abduhl Rahahman, which you mentioned to us last evening, was truly interesting. It seems greatly desirable that he should have lived a few years after his return to his native land; although, at his time of life, it was hardly to be expected by him or his friends that he could live long in *any* part of the world.’

‘Yes: it appeared greatly desirable that he should live. The ways of Providence, however, although mysterious, are wise. It is said that Prince, on his return to Africa, returned also to the Mahomedan faith. If so, he might not have essentially aided the progress of the christianization of Africa, had his life been spared.’

‘It seems to me, Pa, that the continent of Africa presents to the mind a singular combination of character, taking into view her whole history—that is, the little that we know of it?’

‘It certainly does: she has been the very focus of literature and refinement, and also has afforded the very worst specimens of barbarism. We see there the greatest ignorance and debasement, and yet even now find evidence also of something like attention to learning, and hear from travel-

lers of an interior where are magnificent cities, and the splendors of wealth and power. The history of Africa's better days, and the present remains of her former glory, encourage the hope that she may again recover her elevation, notwithstanding all that seems most discouraging. It has been said that to the burning history of Ancient Greece, more than to any other cause, Modern Greece is indebted for any spirit of liberty and improvement with which she may, of late years, have appeared inspired. Africa may yet find motive to action, in the thought of what she has been, whilst her past history may be the means of enlisting the sympathies of the world in her behalf. There is enough, certainly, in her history, to throw suspicion on the frequent charge of natural inferiority of her children.*

* Many instances may be cited of genius and elevated character among the African race, sufficient at least to redeem them from the unkind imputations by which their perpetual servitude is sometimes justified. To name but a few: J. E. J. CAPITEIX, born in Africa, and bought by a slave-holder on the river St. Andre, was carried to Holland, where he acquired a knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldaic. He studied Theology at the University of Leyden, took his degree, was ordained at Amsterdam, and went out as a missionary to Guinea in 1742. He was the author of several published sermons, poems, and dissertations. His "*Dissertatio de Servitute Libertati Christianæ non contraria*" went through four editions. IGNATIUS SANCHE, and GUSTAVUS VASA, the former born on board a slave-ship on its passage from Guinea to the West Indies, and the latter in the kingdom of Benin, distinguished themselves by their literature. Sancho died in England in 1780. Letters of his were published in 2 vols. octavo, and were well received by the public. Vasa obtained his freedom when about 33 years of age, published in London his memoirs, also a poem, which were read with great interest, and the former several times reprinted. In 1789 he presented to Parliament a petition for the suppression of the slave-trade. The son of Vasa was assistant librarian to Sir Joseph Banks, and Secretary to the Committee for vaccination. He is represented as versed in bibliography. A. W. ASIO, born in Guinea, was brought to this country when young, took the degree of Doctor in Philosophy at the University of Wittenberg in 1734. He was skilled in Latin and Greek; delivered lectures on philosophy; in 1744 supported a

‘Douglass, in his work on missions, says, There are three agents which will soon be entwined with the issues of

thesis at Wittemberg, and published a dissertation “on the absence of sensation in the soul, and its presence in the human body;” was appointed Professor, and the same year supported a thesis “on the distinction which ought to be made between the operations of mind and those of sense.” He also distinguished himself in Mathematics. In an account of his life, published by the academic council, his integrity, talents, industry, and erudition, are very highly commended. FRANCIS WILLIAMS, a negro, born in Jamaica, was educated in the University of Cambridge in England; he opened a school in Jamaica for instruction in Latin and Mathematics, and wrote many pieces in Latin verse which discovered talents of good order. JOB BEN SOLOMON, son of the king of Bunda, on the Gambia, was taken in 1730, and sold in Maryland. “He afterwards found his way to England, where his talents, dignified air, and amenity of character procured him friends, and among the rest Sir Hans Sloane, for whom he translated several Arabic manuscripts. After being received with distinction at the court of St. James, he was sent back to Africa.” His letters which he afterwards wrote to his friends in England and America were published and read with interest. He is said to have been able to repeat the Koran from memory. THOMAS FULLER, a native African, resident for some time near Alexandria, District of Columbia, although unable to read or write, was an extraordinary example of quickness in reckoning. Being asked in company, for the purpose of trying his powers, how many seconds a person had lived who was seventy years, seven months, and seven days old, he answered correctly in a minute and a half. On reckoning it up after him, a different result was obtained by the company. “Have you not forgotten the leap years?” said the negro. These they had forgotten; the omission being supplied, the answer of the negro was found to be right. This account was given by Dr. Rush, when Fuller was 70 years old. JAMES DERHAM was once “a slave in Philadelphia: in 1788, at the age of twenty-one, he became the most distinguished physician in New-Orleans. ‘I conversed with him on medicine,’ says Dr. Rush, ‘and found him very learned; I thought I could give him information concerning the treatment of diseases, but I learned more from him than he could expect from me.’” Boerhaave and De Haen have given strong testimony to the medical skill of not a few blacks. Several are mentioned as having been very dexterous surgeons. “JOSEPH RACHEL, a free negro of Barbadoes, was another Howard. Having become rich by commerce, he devoted all

all human affairs, and are the very hinges on which the moral world will speedily turn. The three things in which the present age excels the ancients, are the Inductive Philosophy, Printing and Universal Education." When these powers come to bear upon Africa, as soon they will with energy, we shall see—at least, the living will see in Africa a new world.'

'I wonder, Pa, what degree of credit we are to give to the accounts of travellers in Africa. If they have not indulged the imagination very freely, we have a great deal to learn yet respecting Africa's present state?'

'I suspect my daughter has been reading a little more

his property to charitable uses, and spent much of his time in visiting prisons to relieve and reclaim the wretched tenants. He died in 1758." "JASMIN THOUMAZEAN was born in Africa: having obtained his freedom in St. Domingo, in 1756, he established a hospital at the Cape for poor negroes and mulattoes, and during more than forty years, assisted by his wife, devoted his time and fortune to their comfort." "HANNIBAL, an African negro, rose to the rank of Lt. General and Director of artillery under Peter the Great of Russia. His son was also a Lt. General in the Russian corps of artillery." BENJAMIN BANNAKER, a negro of Maryland, applied himself to Astronomy with so much success that he published almanacs in Philadelphia for the years 1794 and 1795." Blumenbach, from whom the preceding instances are chiefly taken, possessed a library composed entirely of works written by negroes. He says, "There is not a single department of taste or science in which these people have not been distinguished." Dr. Blumenbach is the author of a most able and scientific treatise on the varieties of the human species, and was better qualified than any other person to decide upon their constitutional differences. Prof. B. "sarcastically observes, that entire and large provinces of Europe might be named, in which it would be difficult to meet with such good writers, poets, philosophers, and correspondents of the French academy; and, on the other hand, that there is no savage people which have distinguished themselves by such examples of perfectibility and even capacity for scientific cultivation; and consequently that none can approach more nearly to the polished nations of the globe, than the negro."—See *Blumenbach's Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte*—*Rees' Encyclo.*—and *Griffin's Plea*.

respecting this people of "*obtuse intellect*," since in these conversations we turned our thoughts to the subject?"

'I have. I have been looking over such works as I can find. Denham and Clapperton's Expedition I think is very interesting. I have also been looking into Bruce's Travels, and Riley and Adams.'

'In answer to your question—all recent discoveries seem to vindicate the veracity of Bruce, although, while he lived, it was his fate to be doubted, contradicted, and even ridiculed for a narrative which is now thought to be true. Riley and Adams are doubtless entitled to some credit; but may not, in all respects, be considered so good authority as Denham and Clapperton. The travels of Barrow, La Vaillant, and Mungo Park, you will also find full of interest. Africa has been the scene of much fiction in times past; the unexplored region of all that is wonderful. The color of her inhabitants—her vast and impenetrable deserts—and the fate of those who attempted to explore her interior, have served at the same time to inflame the curiosity and quicken the imagination. Hence, vague reports of paradisaical beauty and wonderful fertility; oases, in oceans of sand, the inaccessible abodes of the blest; and rumors of supernatural wonders seen by travellers more fortunate than others; all which are to be regarded as mere fiction. The accounts of later travellers have drawn upon the imagination less, and are to be considered as authentic. We have, without doubt, very imperfect ideas as yet, of the amount of Africa's population, her resources, or her comparative mental energy. That whole continent will yet, and that soon, if I mistake not, become the fruitful source of amazing interest, and the scene of wonderful developments.'

'From all that can be gathered from the reports of travellers and from our own observation, do you not think, Sir, that we are justified in the inference that the Africans are naturally an extremely *indolent* race?'

'This accusation has been preferred against them, and

probably with greater truth than usually pertains to assertions of those who would deprive the race of every good quality, mental or social; but even *this* charge is, I suspect, somewhat exaggerated. All people, of every nation and color, are indolent, except as stimulated to labor, activity and enterprise, by the spirit of property, utility, or pleasure:

“The best of men have ever lov'd repose.”

‘The negroes of Senegal are remarkably *industrious*. Since the suppression of slavery there, their villages are rebuilt, and repeopled, and there is the show of a commendable spirit of enterprise. Unmolested in their possessions and enjoyments, they have *motive* to industry. The Abbe Gregoire says of the inhabitants of Axiain, on the Gold Coast, and also of those of the country of Boulam, that “they are industrious.” “Those of the country of Jago,” he adds, are “celebrated for an activity which enriches their country. Those of Cabomonte and of Fido are indefatigable cultivators; economical of their soil, they scarcely leave a foot-path to form a communication between the different possessions. They reap one day, and the next day sow the earth.”

‘In many parts of Africa there is such luxuriant abundance of all that is necessary to the sustenance and comfort of its inhabitants, that indolence follows as a matter of course. Besides, they are often exposed to continual inroads from their enemies, and where nothing is certain, save their constant liability to surprise, capture, or death, it may naturally be expected that the people will be indolent, for there is no incentive to effort. Many of those we see in our own country, whether natives of Africa, or descendants of Africans, have acquired indolent habits through the force of circumstances; but nothing, surely, is to be inferred from this fact to the disparagement of Africans more favorably situated:

“Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam

“Premia si tollas?”

‘It has sometimes been supposed that this portion of the human race are also more inclined to vicious habits generally, and unruly passions, than others. If this be true, it may grow out of the circumstances in which they are placed. Ignorance and crime are nearly allied. And were there no other cause, habits of indolence would beget other evils. The poet has shown some knowledge of human nature and also of sound philosophy, who said,

“O mortal man, who livest here by toil,
Do not complain of this thy hard estate :
That, like an emmet, thou must ever moil,
Is a sad sentence of an ancient date ;
And, certes, there is for it reason great ;
For, though sometimes it makes thee weep and wail,
And curse thy star, and early drudge and late ;
Withouten that would come an heavier bale,
Loose life, unruly passions, and diseases pale.” ’

‘The Africans are not only generally considered constitutionally indolent, but *cowardly*, are they not, Pa?’

‘The Portuguese historian, Borros, says that negroes are, in his opinion, preferable to Swiss soldiers, whose reputation for bravery has generally stood high. In 1703 the blacks took arms for the defence of Guadaloupe, and “were more useful than all the rest of the French troops.” At the same time, they bravely defended Martinico against the English. The honorable conduct of the negroes at the siege of Savannah, and at the taking of Pensacola, is well known. During the Revolution, when incorporated with the French troops, they shared their danger and their glory.

‘You probably recollect the mention of Henry Diaz, who is extolled in all the histories of Brazil : he was a negro, and once a slave. He became colonel of a regiment of soldiers of his own color. He was talented, sagacious, and brave. In battle, struggling against vast superiority of numbers, and perceiving that some of his soldiers were discouraged and began to give way, he thrust himself into their

midst, and crying out, "*Are these the brave companions of Henry Diaz?*" his speech and example inspired them anew with courage; the enemy, who supposed themselves victorious, were attacked with an impetuosity which forced them to retreat and finally to capitulate. "In 1745, in the midst of his exploits, this brave man had his left hand wounded by a ball; and in order to spare the delay of dressing, he caused it to be amputated, saying that each *finger* of his *right* hand was worth a left hand in combat."

'I suppose, Sir, that in other moral qualities, they may not be inferior, naturally, to other people; but we have been so much accustomed to think disparagingly of Africans, that the force of habit is still strong, notwithstanding any light which is shed upon the understanding. I think, however, that I am fast rising above prejudice.'

'Africans are capable, I doubt not, of every noble trait of character; and those qualities which are the greatest ornament to humanity, are often exhibited by them to our admiration. You recollect the anecdote which Mr. Newton tells of a negro whom he, one day, accused of imposture and injustice? The negro, with wounded pride, replied, "*Do you take me for a white man?*" Proyard, in his history of Loango, asserts that if the negroes who inhabit the coasts, and associate with white men, are inclined to fraud and other vices, those who have not had intercourse with the whites, are humane, obliging, and hospitable. Wadstrom, who boasts of their friendship, thinks their sensibility more mild and affecting than that of the whites. Captain Wilson, who lived among them, speaks highly of their constancy and friendship; they shed tears at his departure. Goldberry inveighs against the presumption with which Europeans despise and calumniate nations, improperly called savage, among whom we find men of probity, models of filial, conjugal and paternal affection, who know all the energies and refinements of virtue; among whom sentimental impressions are more deep, because they observe, more than we, the dictates of

nature, and know how to sacrifice personal interests to the ties of friendship. Robin speaks of a slave of Martinico, who, having gained money sufficient to purchase his own freedom, purchased with it his mother's. Mungo Park says, the most horrible outrage that can be committed against a negro, is to curse his father or his mother, or to speak of either with contempt. "Strike me," said a slave to his master, "but curse not my mother!" Park speaks of a negress having lost her son, and finding consolation in the fact that he had never told a lie. Cassaux relates, that a negro, seeing a white man abuse his father, said, "Carry away the child of this monster, that it may not learn to imitate his conduct." Stedman says, "Several Maroons" had been condemned to the gallows: one had the offer of his life, on condition of his becoming the executioner of his fellows; but he refused. The master ordered one of his negroes to perform the office. "Wait," said he, "until I get ready." He then went into the house, took a hatchet, and cut off his hand; when, returning, he said to his master, "Order me to be the executioner of my comrade!" Captain Sudbury, of the English navy, received a consignment of gold dust, valued at £13,000, (over \$60,000,) from the slave coast of Africa, as a present from one of the native princes, whom, with a whole cargo of slaves which he had captured, he had freed from slavery.

'There is an interesting anecdote of Louis Desrouleaux, which I will here repeat. Desrouleaux was once a slave. His master who was possessed of great riches, had been engaged in the slave trade. He became poor and returned from France to St. Domingo, where his slave, Desrouleaux, had become free, and had himself acquired a fortune. Pinsum, the master, was scarcely recognized now by those who professed for him great friendship when he was rich. Desrouleaux heard of his old master's misfortunes, hastened to find him, supplied him with honorable lodging and board, and then proposed to him that he would be most happy liv-

ing in France where his feelings would not be mortified by the sight of ungrateful men. On Pinsum replying, 'I cannot find subsistence in France,' Desrouleaux asked if an annual income of fifteen thousand francs would suffice?—The Frenchman wept with joy—the negro signed the contract, and the pension was regularly paid.*

'Before we close this conversation, I must just refer to one specimen of the interior of Africa, their splendor, arts, industry, genius, regard for bravery, &c. which was furnished by Lieut. Laing, of the British Navy, who, under instructions from the Governor of Sierra Leone, went on a mission far in the interior. It relates to his visit to the Chief of the Solinas, King Yaradee.

'After visiting different chiefs by whom he was well received, Lieut. Laing came to a place called Koukundi, a village of farms belonging to the people of Melicouri. Here he remained during the night, and early in the morning entered the town itself, which was walled round, with port holes for musketry, and was impregnable. The country in the neighborhood was abundantly productive, and in a high state of cultivation; corn, barley, rice, cassada, and cotton

* "The travels of Barrow, Le Vaillant, and Park, abound with anecdotes honorable to the moral character of the Africans, and proving that they betray no deficiency in the amiable qualities of the heart. One of these gives us an interesting portrait of the chief of a tribe: 'His countenance was strongly marked with the habit of reflection. Vigorous in his mental, and amiable in the personal qualities, Gaika was at once the friend and ruler of a happy people, who universally pronounced his name with transport, and blessed his abode as the seat of felicity.' Many highly polished European kings would appear to little advantage by the side of this savage. We see no reason to doubt that the negroes, taken altogether, are not inferior to any variety of the human race in natural goodness of heart. It is consonant to our experience of mankind in general, that the latter quality should be deadened, or completely extinguished in the slave-ship or on the plantation."—*Rees' Encyclo.*

It is doubtful whether any other people would exhibit, in the same circumstances, greater native goodness of heart than the negro.

growing in great profusion. Lt. L. says he passed several hundred acres of such cultivation. The next day he proceeded to the camp, about eight miles distant north, and which was about three hours south of Fouricaria. Immediately on his approach, the drums and other warlike instruments were in motion, and soon about 12,000 people were assembled in a large square, in the centre of the savannah on which an immense army was encamped, and Lt. L. communicated the object of his visit, which was to explain the footing on which the Colony of Sierra Leone wished to stand with the neighboring nations. King Yaradee, who was one of the most warlike of the African monarchs, he found surrounded by his brave chiefs, under an ample tent, seated upon the skin of a lion. The king kindly invited Lt. L. to take a seat by his side. The following song impromptu, in their own language, was then sung by a minstrel :

“ A stranger has come to Yaradee’s camp
Whose bosom is soft and is fair ;
He sits by the valiant Yaradee’s side,
And none but the valiant sit there.

Like the furious lion Yaradee comes
And hurls the terrors of war ;
His enemies see him, and, panic-struck, flee
To the woods and the deserts afar.

By the side of this hero, so valiant and brave,
Sits the stranger whose skin is so fair ;
He lives on the sea, where he wanders at will,
And he knows neither sorrow nor care.

Then look at the stranger before he departs ;
Brave Yaradee, touch his soft hair ;
The last note of my harp swells to Yaradee’s praise,
While I gaze on the stranger so fair.”

‘The Solimas are great singers. The great deeds of the Solima chiefs, as well as the history of their wars, are

handed down to posterity by means of Jelle or singing-men, in songs composed much after the manner of Ossian.'

'Those lines are very sweet,' said H. 'and the scene must have been very imposing.'

'The Africans are sweet singers,' said C. 'but I acknowledge the time has been when I thought them capable of sound *only*—not of sentiment.'



CONVERSATION VI.

"From Guinea's coast pursue the lessening sail,
And catch the sounds that sadden every gale.
Tell, if thou canst, the sum of sorrows there;
Mark the fixed gaze, the wild and frenzied glare,
The racks of thought, and freezings of despair!
But pause not there—beyond the western wave,
Go see the captive bartered as a slave!
Crush'd till his high, heroic spirit bleeds,
And from his nerveless frame indignantly recedes."—*Rogers.*

'I HAVE been thinking, Pa,' said Caroline, 'it is a fact somewhat remarkable, that perhaps the first intimation which we find in ancient history of great learning among any people, is that which in Mosaic history points us to Africa. Moses, you know, it is said, was skilled in all the wisdom of the Egyptians!'

'You have, indeed, referred to a striking and decisive evidence of the greatness of African attainments at a very early period. We have conclusive and irresistible proof of their quondam greatness also in their works of art, many of which, such as pyramids, obelisks, and mausolea, still stand,

as if in mockery of the very credulity of man, a memorial of their spirit and skill. True, many will say, that the ancient Egyptians were a very "different race of beings from those tribes which have supplied the world with slaves;" but admit that they were in some respects different, the reference to them is sufficient to invalidate the *sweeping* declarations of many in regard to Africans. There are, however, proofs of former greatness and of present susceptibility of great improvement, and of high advances in genius and learning, among other portions of the African race. And Mr. Thompson, Governor of Sierra Leone, in a letter to a distinguished gentleman of Massachusetts, published some time since, says that he brought from Africa manuscripts sufficient to convince him that the interior of that great continent is even now in a vastly higher state of civilization and improvement than the residents on the coast have any idea of.

‘Has it not been said that tribes have been discovered in the interior of Africa who are Christians? If I recollect, missionaries of the London Church Missionary Society for Egypt and Abyssinia, found a tribe never before visited by Europeans, who appeared to have much in their faith that is scriptural, and whose general practice is commendable.’

‘Fragmentary Churches doubtless exist in some parts of the East that are surrounded by, or covered with great moral darkness; and I know not but as the churches in Syria, of which the Rev. Dr. Buchanan gives so interesting an account, are thought to possess claims to apostolic origin, so the people of Abyssinia, to whom you refer, may be regarded as Christians.’

‘You have spoken, Sir, of some large cities visited by Lt. Laing, or other travellers: do you suppose that such settlements are common in the interior?’

‘All who have travelled at all in central Africa have found there very populous and highly cultivated countries, in which were large cities, some of 30,000, and some of 50,000,

or more inhabitants. To these marts resort all the people in the neighborhood, as in our own country to our large cities and towns, and caravans as well as single merchants from the most remote regions.'

'I suppose, Pa, that the people in Africa have no idea that their color is regarded by other nations as a blemish, and that they are therefore perfectly satisfied with themselves in that respect?'

'Indeed, they *are* well satisfied. Whiteness, when first beheld, is shocking to them; they attribute it to disease. A charitable old woman who afforded Park a meal and a lodging, on the banks of the Niger, could not refrain, even in the midst of her kindness, from exclaiming, "*God preserve us from the DEVIL!*" as she looked upon him. And it is said to have been a common subject of regret among the girls at Bornou, that Denham and Clapperton were *white*.'

'Oh! Pa, you are jesting, I know.'

'Indeed, Caroline, I am not.'

'It may be that it has been *said* as you represent, but'—

Henry here remarked that 'Herodotus has said "*The Æthiopians excel all other nations in personal beauty*." If *black* be a mark of beauty, Caroline,' he mischievously added, '*you* would stand but little chance of making conquest by your color, of an ebony Æthiop, or of making the best market of yourself in Africa.'

'Indeed, Henry, I think I should not repine.'

'But to be serious,' continued Mr. L. 'it is a singular fact that when the blacks have taken precedence of the whites in civilization, science, and political power, no prejudice has appeared to exist against the color. The black Prince, Memnon, who served among the Trojan auxiliaries at the siege of Troy, is constantly spoken of, by the Greek and Latin authors, as a person of extraordinary beauty. He is qualified as the Son of Aurora, or the Morning. The prejudice against the *color* of the blacks, many contend, (and I

shall not undertake to controvert their argument, although I freely acknowledge my own views would lead me to treat with great disapprobation any plea for amalgamation,) has grown out of the relative condition of the two races.'

Caroline here inquired, 'Have not the Africans many slaves among themselves, in Africa? If I recollect, Mr. Clapperton says the domestic slaves are numerous.'

'There is a great deal of domestic slavery in different parts of Africa; but it has been asserted that, for the most part, slavery, except as slaves are taken to be sold to the slave-merchants on the coast, is a different thing in Africa from what it is among us. I know not that it is said that the slaves are treated better than with us; but it is thought that they are there viewed more as members of the family to which they are attached than as slaves. Still, I am inclined to think that this is a gloss which a comparison would not justify.'

Henry suggested, at this point, that slavery is bad enough, in any country, and under any circumstances. 'Nothing,' said he, 'I am sure, can make amends for the loss of liberty—nothing, I mean, that *man* can offer.'

Mr. L. said, 'No doubt there has been many an instance of that which Montgomery has so finely expressed,

"The broken heart which kindness never heals—
The home-sick passion which the negro feels
When toiling, fainting, in a land of canes,
His spirit wanders to his native plains,
And 'neath the shade of his paternal trees,
His little lonely dwelling there he sees,
The home of comfort."'

'I have seen it stated,' said Henry, 'that in some parts of Africa they hunt for slaves for transportation just as they would hunt for wild beasts.'

'It is said that in Bornou, for instance,' replied Mr. L. 'where the slave-trade is carried on to an immense extent and is the principal traffic, the mode in which slaves are pro-

cured is very summary: A caravan of Moorish merchants arrives, and they offer goods for slaves. If there are no slaves on hand they must be procured. The Sultan immediately collects his forces, marches into the country of some harmless tribe, burns their villages, destroys their fields and flocks, massacres the infirm and old, and returns with as many able bodied prisoners as he can seize. Sometimes 3,000 have been obtained in a single "ghrazie," as these expeditions are called. The way in which slaves are obtained is somewhat different in different parts of Africa, and yet is very similar in all.'

The family all exclaimed, 'How horrible!'

Mr. L. resumed, 'The horrors of the slave-trade in Africa are great. Distressing, however, as is the situation of the captive when first

" before his eyes
" The terrors of captivity arise,"

his sufferings are greater in what is called the "middle passage," (that is during the voyage) if he be shipped to a distant land; and if they be carried, to supply the northern market, across the great desert, their sufferings are represented as even greater. Driven by Arab merchants to the North of Africa, through the deep and burning sands of Sahara, scantily supplied with water, they sink in great numbers under their sufferings. Denham and his companions saw, in their journeyings, melancholy proofs of the horrors attending this "middle passage" over land. They at one time halted near a well around which were lying more than one hundred human skeletons, some of them with the skin still remaining upon the bones. "They were *only blacks*," said the Arabs, when they observed the horror of the travellers, and then began to knock about the limbs and skulls with the butt-ends of their guns. Denham says they counted in another place one hundred and seven skeletons. In other instances, they passed sixty or eighty skeletons a day

scattered along over that dreary waste. About the walls of El-Hamar they saw many, and among the rest, the skeletons of two young females, faithful friends it would seem even in death, for these skeletons lay with their fleshless arms still clasped around each other.'

Caroline felt a little faint, but after a few moments' interruption, begged her father to proceed. She had no doubt it was owing to the heat of the room. Mr. L. with some hesitancy, continued: 'While, says Denham, I was dozing on my horse, about noon, overcome by the heat of the sun, I was suddenly awakened by a crashing under my feet, and found that my steed had stepped on the perfect skeletons of two human beings, cracking their little bones under his feet, and by one trip of his foot separating a skull from the trunk, it rolled on like a ball before him.'

'O horrid barbarity! Poor Africa!' exclaimed Caroline; 'how she has suffered! I do not wonder that wretched continent has been represented as "a widow, sitting beneath her own palm-trees, clothed in sackcloth, weeping for her children and refusing to be comforted!"'

'And are they exposed to much suffering on the western coast, when taken to be sent on ship-board, to be conveyed to other lands?' said Henry.

'Yes, their sufferings are great, and frequently insupportable. At the lowest estimate, it is said that an average of one hundred thousand of the African race have been seized every year, and borne across the Atlantic to supply the West Indies and the Brazilian market alone. The wars attending the capture of such a multitude, make Africa, of course, a field of blood, and a scene of great affliction.'

'And then,' said C. 'the separation of relatives and friends, occasioned by the forced removal of the captured, I have no doubt breaks a thousand hearts; O it is shocking to humanity! And how painful is it to think that much of the distress which Africa has endured, has been occasioned, perhaps, by our own countrymen; or, at least, has been caused

by inducements which in our own country, this boasted land of liberty, have been held out to unprincipled men to procure slaves and bring them hither! It appears to me, Pa, that encouragement to the slave-trade, in a country like ours, more than any other, is dark disgrace.'

'Yes, my daughter, it was indeed a dark blot upon our country's glory. It was felt to be such a stain as no Christian nation should tolerate, much less a people distinguished above all the nations of the earth for their civil and religious blessings, and whose very DECLARATION, published to the world, boldly and solemnly asserts that *all men are created equal; endowed by their Creator with the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.**

'I recollect, Sir,' said H. 'some lines which forcibly illustrate the sentiment you express; they go further, however, and notwithstanding the slave-trade is prohibited by our laws, reproach us for the continuance of slavery among us:

"ALL ARE BORN FREE; AND ALL WITH EQUAL RIGHTS.
So speaks the *Charter* of a Nation, proud
Of her unequalled *liberties* and laws;
While, in that nation, shameful to relate,
One man in five is born and dies A SLAVE."

'Can you repeat further?' said C. 'If I recollect, what follows is equally elegant and impressive.'

'I can imperfectly. I may perhaps do injustice to the author by some omissions, or alterations, as I cannot promise that I shall give the precise original, in totidem verbis:

"Is this *my* country? this that happy land,
The wonder and the envy of the world?
O for a mantle to conceal her shame!
But why? when patriotism cannot hide

* This expression has been by some of late, confidently pronounced "false in fact, and contradicted by the word of revelation." We think, however, that no reasonable man can deny its correctness, in the obvious sense in which it was intended by the framers of the Declaration of Independence.

The ruin which her guilt will surely bring
 If unrepented ? for unless the God
 Who poured his plagues on Egypt till she let
 The oppress'd go free, and often pours his wrath
 In earthquakes and tornadoes on the isles
 Of Western India, laying waste their fields,
 Dashing their mercenary ships ashore,
 Tossing the isles themselves like floating wrecks,
 And burying towns alive in one wide grave,
 No sooner ope'd but closed, let judgment pass
 For once untasted till the general doom,
Can it go well with us while we retain
This cursed thing ?"

" Will not some daring spirit, born to thoughts
 Above his beast-like state, find out the truth
 That Africans are '*men*,' and catching fire
 From freedom's altar raised before his eyes
 With incense burning sweet, in others light
 A kindred flame in secret, till a train
 Kindled at once, deal death on every side ?

" Cease, then, COLUMBIA—for thy safety, cease,
 And for thine honor to proclaim the praise
 Of thy fair shores of *liberty and joy*,
While thrice seven hundred thousand wretched slaves
Are held in thine own land !"

' The poetry is very good, my son, and in some respects the sentiment is appropriate. But there are various and weighty considerations connected with this subject which must not be lost sight of. The enormity of the slave-trade, we all admit, and I am by no means, even in view of all the peculiar circumstances in which we are placed, an advocate for perpetuating the relation which we find existing in a portion of our states: I confess, however, that I can neither say on the one hand, that duty calls imperatively on all masters to throw up at once that legal claim to the services of the slave which the constitution recognizes ; nor, on the other hand, that all has been done which ought to have been done for the amelioration of their condition and the ultimate ex-

tion of the relation. The subject, I am constrained to acknowledge, is attended with much difficulty. In some future conversation I will express my views more fully in reference to the subject, at present simply adding that it is one of great, increasing, and solemn interest. We are a peculiar people, and, as a nation, have hitherto enjoyed unexampled prosperity. Our success, I doubt not, is to be attributed, under God, in a great measure to the fact that our institutions, since the Revolution, are based on the principle of *moral rectitude* and the *equal rights of man*. If we abide by our own professed declarations and principles, we may prosper still. But our prosperity will wane—our happiness will be of short duration, unless our practice be a consistent comment on our national declarations and professions. That *moral debt* which our ancestors contracted when being presented with the forbidden fruit, they took and ate, must be paid by us, their *heirs*, (I mean the debt we owe to Africa,) or I am satisfied that our country will yet feel the severe scourge of heaven! We must do what we can to redress the wrongs we have done, *or our country is ruined!* It will be of no avail that we have able statesmen, or a faithful administration, or that the physical strength and resources of our country are our boast, and that we pride ourselves on the valor of our armies and the gallantry of our navy, without a sacred regard to the immutable principles of justice. We have before us the experience of ages—the philosophy of many an experiment and of many a failure, in the history of nations; and we must profit by the instructions of the past, if we would be successful and happy for any length of time: otherwise the period may arrive, when, ere we are aware, this giant republic will be broken, and scattered, and peeled. Happy should I be to see in every part of our beloved country a more strict regard to that sacred maxim, “*RIGHTEOUSNESS EXALTETH A NATION.*”

‘I hope and trust, Pa,’ said Caroline, ‘that the kind Providence that has always watched over us for good, will in-

cline the minds of this people to a right course, and avert from us all calamity.'

'I hope so. But the slave question is, I fear, pregnant with danger!'

'You do not think, Pa, that danger is near?'

'I know not at what moment the volcano may burst; but this we all know, that already we have heard its muttering, nor has it been without some transient irruptions. The Southampton tragedy cannot soon be forgotten; nor can we be blind to the exciting nature of the question in every part of the Union. The elements of destruction are indeed among us. Nearly two millions of slaves, and five hundred thousand free blacks, with their rapid increase, in connection with the diversity of feeling and sentiment which exist among ourselves, and the lack of sympathy for our situation among other nations, are, altogether, a tremendous evil. We live indeed in a peculiar age. Great changes are taking place in the earth. The ball of revolution is moved.

The age finds all within the vortex drawn,
The strength of current far too great to stem
By feigned indifference.

And something must be done; for a crisis is near. The considerate feel this and acknowledge it. What can be done, or how a "consummation most devoutly to be wished," shall be effected, is an important, serious, solemn question.'

'I should think, Pa, that there can be but one opinion as to the expediency of attending to the subject, and doing something effectual to remove the evil entirely from among us?'

'And I,' said Henry, 'should think there could be, amongst the discerning, but one opinion in respect to the advantages of colonization.'

'In respect to the means most proper to be employed,' said Mr. L. 'there is a difference of opinion; but reflecting men generally, as I said before, are beginning to feel, more than ever, that *something* must be done. No one who looks

at the subject with a candid eye can, it seems to me, doubt either the expediency of encouraging the colonization of our colored population in Africa, or the desirableness of the abolishment of slavery in our land. Connected with this subject are great questions, which I have said involve great considerations, requiring the wisdom which is from above, and calling for a spirit of prayer, meekness, and great forbearance. Already are there thrown around it difficulties and embarrassment which ought to have been avoided, or rather I would say, ought never to have been created. A wrong spirit and unwise measures only increase the evil. So serious and alarming is it now, that very many are actually afraid to look the subject full in the face. *What shall be done?* is a question which they dare not meet, although all the while they *fear* that it will force itself upon us in a way that shall be most painful. I confess, for my own part, that I have sometimes apprehended that an issue may possibly come in a shape that shall demand tears of anguish for rivers of blood. May all that relates to this subject be wisely and kindly ordered by a good and merciful Providence.'

CONVERSATION VII.

"We are required to devise some means whereby the political evil which we have inherited may be corrected, and a foul, unseemly stain washed from our national escutcheon. Duty to the colored population of our country calls loudly for it—duty to ourselves demands it."—*Gov. Vroom.*

'I have been thinking much, through the day,' said Caroline, 'of our last conversation. Self-preservation, it is sometimes asserted as a maxim incontrovertible, is the first law

of nature. It is a law, however, which appears to me to be very little regarded, or there could not, I think, be such apathy in respect to the dangers that surround us. Self-interest, I should think, would furnish to the Southern people pressing motives to a right course, and that as far as practicable they would join in immediate and vigorous action for freeing our land finally from the very last remnant of slavery.'

'The public are awaking to the importance of the subject,' replied Mr. L. 'and begin to feel more than formerly the urgency of the case. Every passing month the cause of Africa's unhappy children is finding new and ardent friends. The duty which we owe ourselves, our country, and the world, demands of us greater sympathy for that long neglected portion of our globe. The time, I trust, will come, when every band that chafes the limbs or the souls of our colored brethren will be loosed. A mighty change has taken place, and is still increasing. In this subject the non-slaveholding States, as well as the South, have and feel a deep interest.'

'In case of insurrection among the slaves of the South, I do not see that *we* should be in any danger, Pa?'

'We might not be in any *personal* danger, my son; but is not the South as well as the North our country; are not the noble-hearted Southrons our brethren; and are they not every way worthy of our warm affection and respect? They are indeed part of ourselves. If personal danger were the only cause of alarm, we surely could not be indifferent spectators of a scene of revolt and its dreadful consequences. Our interests are interwoven, and bound together by many ties. Our intimate friends and connections are scattered over the Union, and ourselves, or our children *may* be on the very centre of the crater when the volcano shall burst. There are other considerations, however, which should not be viewed with indifference. Such is the genius of our government, that if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it. Frequent collisions of feeling, clashing of sentiment, and

contentions for opposite interests are painfully adapted to sunder the strongest bonds of brotherhood. The existence of slavery in our land has more than once been the fertile theme of political strife in our national councils, the rallying point of contending parties. It has engendered much bad feeling, and what will be its final result is the subject of very anxious speculation and the cause of unpleasant forebodings. To be united, prosperous, and happy, for any length of time, we must be one in sentiment, one in action, one in character.'

'The *tariff*' question did much to provoke unpleasant feeling between the different parts of the Union, did it not, Pa?'

'Tariff and anti-tariff' views, and the like, have had less to do in producing the commotions which have convulsed our country at different times, than many are aware of. It was an evil hour when slavery was introduced to this otherwise favored land. Its unhappy influence has been gradually developed until its curse has become tremendous. Admit that we feel its *direct* influence but little in this part of our country; still, it has an influence indirect, which more than all things else contributes to mar and jeopard the peace, the welfare and the permanency of the Union. "The fact is," says one of her own distinguished citizens, "SLAVERY is the bane and the ruin of one portion of our land, and the advantage of FREE LABOR and industry has exalted the other portion. The natural consequence is, a morbid sensibility and ever wakeful jealousy on the part of the depressed; and an increasing desire for greater gain and aggrandisement on the part of the other. Yes, it is *slavery* that sinks the South! See the wide-spreading ruin which the avarice of our ancestral government has produced, as witnessed in a sparse population of freemen, deserted habitations, fields without culture; and, strange to tell, even the wolf, driven back long since by the approach of man, now returns, after the lapse of an hundred years, to howl over the desolations of slavery." Their lands worn out, in a great measure, un-

der the ungrateful cultivation of slaves; the population of freemen declining, or wending their westward way; and those interests neglected which would have been cultivated by a free, white, and working population: the South feels but too sensibly every effort which other sections make to sustain themselves, as if oppressive of her—whilst, all the time, the evil, the *root* of the evil, is SLAVERY!* The South

* It may not be amiss to introduce and record here an elegant tribute to the North, from the eloquent lips of Mr. PRESTON of South Carolina, delivered at a public meeting at Columbia, S. C. as reported in a southern paper. The sentiments expressed, leave the unavoidable impression upon the mind that the great cause of the difference to which Mr. Preston adverts, is found in the fact that free labor is preferable as a matter of policy and interest to slave labor; and that the South, with all her natural advantages, will never become what she might be, until the character of her working population is changed.

“Mr. PRESTON, in his speech drew a very striking contrast between the difference of character of the people of the Northern and of the Southern parts of the Union, and the consequently opposite condition of the countries they inhabit. He said that no Southern man can journey (as he had done) through the Northern states, and witness the prosperity, the industry, the public spirit, which they exhibit; the sedulous cultivation of all those arts by which life is rendered comfortable and respectable, without feelings of deep sadness and shame, as he remembers his own neglected and desolate home. There, no dwelling is to be seen abandoned, no farm uncultivated, no man idle, no waterfall, even, unemployed. Every person and every thing performs a part towards the grand result, and the whole land is covered with fertile fields, with manufactories, and canals, railroads, and public edifices, and towns and cities. Along the route of the great New-York canal, that glorious monument of the glorious memory of De Witt Clinton, a canal, a railroad, and a turnpike, are to be seen in the width of perhaps a hundred yards, each of them crowded with travel, or overflowing with commerce. Throughout their course, lands that before their construction would scarcely command five dollars the acre, now sell for fifty, seventy-five, or a hundred. Passing along it, you see no space of three miles without a town or village, and you are never out of the sound of a church bell. We of the South are mistaken in the character of those people, when we think of them only as pedlers in horn flints and bark nutmegs. Their

has injured, and is yet crushing herself, by cherishing an evil which will yet be found to be more than can be borne. She

energy and enterprise are directed to all objects, great and small, within their reach. At the fall of a scanty rivulet, they set up their little manufactory of buttons or combs; they plant a barren hill-side with broom corn, and make it into brooms at the bottom—and on its top they erect a wind-mill. Thus, at a single spot you may see the air, the earth, and the water, all working for them. But, at the same time, the ocean is whitened to its extremities with the sails of their ships, and the land is covered with their works of art and usefulness.

“Massachusetts is perhaps the most flourishing of the Northern states. Yet, of natural productions, she exports but two articles—granite and ice. Absolutely nothing but *rock and ice*! Every thing else of her commerce, from which she derives so much, is artificial—the work of her own hands. All this is done, in a region with a bleak climate and sterile soil, by the energy and intelligence of the people. Each man knows that the public good is his individual advantage. The number of railroads, and other modes of expeditions intercommunication, knits the whole country into a closely compacted mass, through which the productions of commerce and of the press, the comforts of life, and the means of knowledge, are universally diffused; while the close intercourse of travel and business makes all men neighbors, and promotes a common interest and common sympathy. In a community thus connected, a single flash of thought pervades the whole land, almost as rapidly as thought itself can fly. The population becomes, as it were, a single set of muscles, animated by one heart, and directed by a common sensorium.

“How different the condition of things in the South! Here, the face of the country wears the aspect of premature old age and decay. No improvement is seen going on, nothing is done for posterity, no man thinks of any thing beyond the present moment. Our lands are yearly tasked to their utmost capacity of production, and, when exhausted, are abandoned for the youthful west. Because nature has been prodigal to us, we seem to think it unnecessary to do any thing for ourselves. The industry and skill that have converted the inclement and barren hills of New England into a garden, in the genial climate and fertile soil of the South, would create almost a paradise. Our natural advantages are among the greatest with which Providence has blessed mankind, but we lack the spirit to enjoy and improve them. The rich ore is beneath our feet, and we dig not for it. The golden fruit hangs from the bough, and we lift not our hands to gather it. The cask of delicious liquor is before

cannot rise whilst the evil remains. She *feels* it; and the other states *see* it to be so. It is a subject, however, that can hardly be discussed at all in its various bearings without eliciting sectional jealousy, or party severity, and enkindling mutual animosities, although it is an evil that convulses and stains the entire length and breadth of our land!

‘You consider slave labor then as unprofitable, Pa?’

‘There are individual exceptions, undoubtedly, in which the slave dedicates himself to his master with the most zealous and generous devotion; but generally that labor we should suppose most profitable, in which the laborer knows that he will derive the profits of his industry; his employment depending on his diligence, and his reward upon his assiduity. *There* is every motive to excite to exertion, and to animate to perseverance. Therefore, where the choice exists to employ, at an equal hire, free, or slave labor, the former will be decidedly preferred, because it is regarded as more capable, more diligent, more faithful, more worthy of confidence. Where capital is unable to command the free labor that is required, as has been sometimes the case in the first settlement of some parts of our country, it may there purchase that of slaves.’

‘Then slavery was introduced into this country on account of the difficulty of procuring free labor in the first settlement of the country, was it, sir?’

‘Yes; the first guilt of the introduction of slavery into this country is chargeable upon England; and the circumstances are such as show conclusively that where free labor can be had, avarice, which knows the way to wealth even better than philosophy itself, prefers free labor. When England introduced slavery into her American colonies and islands, she had as much free labor at home as the land-hold-

our eyes, but we are too lazy even to broach it. In thinking, in writing, and in talking, we are equal to any people on the face of the earth; but we do nothing but think, write, and talk.”

ers wanted to employ ; and it has been on this account, and this only, that the poet was enabled to say,

“ Slaves cannot breathe in England ; if their lungs
Receive our air, that moment they are free ;
They touch our country, and their shackles fall.”

The fact is, the respiration could go on well enough in those parts of her dominions where free labor was *not to be obtained*. In America was a widely-extended territory, with a soil and climate adapted to the raising of the most profitable articles of commerce. In order to render the colonies an immediate and productive source of revenue, which was the settled policy of England, and on which she placed great reliance, (monopolizing at the same time all her colonial commerce, and taking care to increase that commerce as much as possible by increasing the productions of the soil,) an immediate supply of labor was necessary. As an expedient to provide for her colonial wants, she commenced filling her colonies with African slaves ! She would not tolerate slavery at home, and yet would provide for, and locate the evil among her distant children, who, consulting their immediate profit, and regardless of future consequences, at length fell in with the slave-policy of the mother country.

‘The same causes which induced England to prohibit slavery at home, and yet pour slaves into her colonies, it may be remarked, led Spain and France and all the European powers, who were supplied with free labor at home, but had infant colonies in the West Indies or America, to do the same. Instead of waiting for the New World to populate with laborers by the emigration of free men, and the natural increase of population, slavery was resorted to as a more *speedy* method of introducing *labor*. It was introduced to the colonies only, because free labor was not to be had there ; and not into the mother country because slave labor cannot compete with the free where the employer has his choice.’

‘How inappropriate then the praise which Cowper bestows on his native country, in the lines that follow the quotation which you just now made:

“That’s noble, and bespeaks a nation proud

“And jealous of the blessing.”

If slave labor be so unprofitable, and if the naturally rich lands of the South become, in process of time, barren under its culture, it is not strange that slavery should have retired first from the Northern and Eastern states.’

‘Slavery is a tax that poor soils and cold climates like ours cannot endure. The cost of cultivating an unproductive soil with slaves, is more than the productions of the soil would bring in return.’

‘Yet cold countries and comparatively unproductive soils are cultivated by free labor to advantage?’

‘Yes; Switzerland, Scotland, and New England, are striking examples of it. The freedom and character of the laboring population, make these countries populous and wealthy, although nature has by no means been liberal in her gifts to either of them. Introduce there a system of slave labor, and pauperism and famine would be the inevitable consequence. It has been well remarked that “free and slave labor move in opposite directions from the same point of departure; and, while one is regularly diminishing the capacity of the earth for production, the other is constantly nourishing and invigorating its powers.” It is an opinion of no recent date, but ancient as slavery itself, that the labor of bondmen is gradually destructive of the soil to which it is applied.’

‘I can appreciate now,’ said Caroline, ‘a remark of Miss Martineau—she says, “The slave system inflicts an incalculable amount of human suffering for the sake of *a wholesale waste of labor and capital.*” I have been told that the slave population of the South is a great check upon the enjoyments of life, and a source of constant apprehension, and of very frequent alarm. It seems to me that if I lived at the

South I should have the bloody scenes of St. Domingo and the Southampton massacre haunting my fears continually.

‘I cannot say that I ever felt alarmed on account of personal exposure at the South, although I resided there, many years, in the midst of a slave population chiefly. Your mother, however, was once obliged, in company with other ladies and their children, to flee, in the night, several miles into the country at a time of threatened insurrection. In some parts of the southern states such causes of fear and momentary distress have existed.

‘I suppose, Pa, that the circumstances of the Southampton insurrection are recollected by you: will you give us some account of it. The leader of that insurrection was a negro, was he not?’

‘It would neither be pleasant nor profitable to dwell on that most melancholy catastrophe. Suffice it to say, it was planned by a negro by the name of Turner. He communicated his plans to a few kindred spirits, who with ready minds and hands engaged in the work of preparation. Others were gradually prepared for the intended event. When the work of destruction commenced they armed themselves with hatchets and axes. Turner ascended by a ladder to the upper part of his master’s house in the silence of night, and passing down stairs, opened the outer doors of the house to his followers, and told them the work was now open to them, Turner himself giving the first blow with a hatchet both to his master and mistress as they lay asleep in bed. In his confession, he said that his “master sprung from the bed and called his wife, but it was the last word; another blow laid him and his wife both dead.” The murder of the family, five in number, was the work of a moment. “Not one of them awoke,” said Turner. He continues, “There was a little infant sleeping in a cradle, that was forgotten until we had left the house and gone some distance, when Harry and Will (two accomplices) returned and killed it. We got here four guns and several old muskets, with a pound or two of

powder." They then proceeded to the next house, a mile distant. They there shot a man whom they met in the yard. It was now day-light. The family in the house took the alarm, and fastened the door. With one stroke of an axe the door was broken in. They entered, and finding two ladies, they killed them, one with a single blow of an axe, the other, Turner said, he "took by the hand and with a sword struck her several blows over the head, but the sword being dull, another negro despatched her with an axe." At another house, after having murdered all the family but the lady and her daughter, Turner said that one of his associates "pulled the lady out of the house, and on the steps severed her head from her body with a broadaxe." "Miss ——," he continues, "when I discovered her, had concealed herself in the corner formed by the projection of the cellar-cap from the house. On my approach she fled, but was soon overtaken, and, after repeated blows with the sword, I killed her by a blow on the head with a fence-rail." In this way they proceeded until more than sixty persons, men, women, and children, fell a sacrifice to the vengeance of their slaves. I cannot go through with a rehearsal of all the circumstances. I have not a heart for it. What has been related, nearly in the language of Turner himself, will serve to give one some faint idea of the horrors of a negro insurrection, and of the dangers against which the utmost vigilance is necessary to guard the lives of multitudes.

'I have here a letter from a gentleman in Georgia, which will perhaps enable you to form a more vivid idea of the sensation produced when an insurrection is apprehended. The letter was written long since. It says, "The papers from this state have no doubt apprised you of the excitement which prevails here about our black population. We were all thrown into great fright and confusion, a few nights since, by a report that the negroes on a plantation about five miles distant had risen, and were marching direct for the town. It was 11 o'clock at night, when the whole population were

in their beds. You cannot conceive, no matter how active your imagination may be, the scene that ensued. In an hour, every woman and child in the place was transported to the largest building in the town for safety, and a large patrol placed in front to protect them. I had retired when the alarm was given, but we immediately got up and dressed, and were soon after joined by Mrs. —, with her infant, pale as marble. I closed the door, and urged them to be quiet, and remain in the house; but it was useless—go they would—others were gone, and they would not stay to be murdered. Finding reasoning lost, I opened the door and out we sallied—your humble servant with a half naked babe in his arms, and two women by his side, scudding with as much speed as a Baltimore schooner under a full press of canvass. * * We staid all night. * * The alarm has subsided, but I do not think we are safe one hour. The very elements of destruction are around us, mingling in all our relations, and we know not at what moment the storm may burst over us. An insurrectionary spirit is abroad, and God only knows when it will be subdued.”

‘O slavery!’ said Caroline, ‘I hardly know which situation is more distressing—that of the slave-holder, or his bondmen.’

CONVERSATION VIII.

“What day passes by without the occurrence of some event, or the witness of some scene, which draws from every feeling heart a sigh or a prayer for the complete fulfilment of all the most sanguine hopes of the friends of colonization? It is not merely for an unfortunate portion of our fellow beings, who have been thrown upon our charity, that this Society is formed: ourselves, our children, our land, and every institution of our beloved country, are deeply involved.—
Bishop Meade.”

‘WE are now ready for another conversation on Africa. I thought that you, at least, Caroline, retired from the subject last night well satisfied with a residence in a non-slaveholding state, and congratulating yourself, perhaps, that you could lay your head on your pillow without the apprehension of being aroused before morning by the cry of “an insurrection?”’

‘Indeed, Pa, I have thought much of the South; more, perhaps, because I was born there; and I acknowledge that I have often wished to see the land of my infancy and earliest childhood, especially when I have heard you speak so honorably and feelingly of the kindness and hospitality of the South, and so affectionately of the many warm friends we have there. I have myself formed a very exalted idea of the warm-hearted friendship and genuine hospitality of the South. I also think I should like their pleasant winters, and should relish their summer fruits. Still I cannot say that I am, in view of all circumstances, *anxious* to take up my residence, even for a few months, in the midst of so much anxiety and alarm as I am sure I should feel in any place surrounded by a population composed, in a great proportion, of slaves. I can adopt Cowper’s declaration with all sincerity:

“ I would not have a *slave* to till my ground,
To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,
And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth
That sinews bought and sold have ever earn'd.
No: dear as freedom is, and in my heart's
Just estimation prized above all price,
I had much rather be myself the slave,
And wear the bonds, than fasten them on him.”

‘ Pa,’ said Henry, ‘ are not the laws of slave-holding states very severe in respect to the slave ? The legislature of Louisiana adopted very severe resolutions, in respect to slaves, and ordered all free people of color who had lately come into the state to leave it within sixty days ; did they not ?’

‘ I would offer no apology for needless severity, my son, but it is conceded by all that the very existence of slavery seems to require some provisions for its maintenance. In my own view, the necessity for severe enactments shows slavery to be a great evil. It is pleaded, however, by the people of the South, that rigorous laws and those which seem to some severe, are made necessary by “ the interference of strangers.” The resolutions, for instance, to which you refer as having passed the Louisiana legislature, were adopted a few days after the arrest in New Orleans of four free persons of color engaged in circulating “ Walker’s Appeal,” called more commonly, both at the South and the North, “ the diabolical Boston pamphlet.” This pamphlet was calculated to endanger the lives of the whole white population of the southern country, wherever it should obtain circulation among the blacks. Even in Boston, although there was no law which took cognizance of the act, the municipal Judge referred to that publication in his charge at the opening of the next court, as one of highly reprehensible character, and he regretted that the laws had not anticipated the offence. In Georgia, too, about the same time, the legislature thought it necessary to impose a quarantine of forty days on all vessels arriving with free colored persons on board, and to oblige the captains of such vessels to carry away again all

such persons ; and they also enacted that *the circulation of pamphlets of evil tendency among domestics, be considered a capital offence.* The same law makes it *penal to teach free persons of color, or slaves, to read or write,* and prohibits the introduction of slaves into the state for sale. These enactments were in consequence of a message of Gov. Gilmer, founded upon a pamphlet of dangerous character which was found in circulation in Savannah. Other legislation has taken place from time to time, for similar reasons. It is, to say the least, truly an unfortunate state of things which requires such security.'

'Pa, I can hardly regard any one as a good citizen, or considerate man, who would throw these publications, as so many firebrands, into the midst of a slave population. I should think it would be like casting coals of fire into a magazine,' said Caroline.

'These laws,' Mr. L. further remarked, 'are of comparatively recent date ; and it was to be hoped that the causes which led to their adoption, and seemed to render them necessary, would cease to operate, and that the laws would be altered or repealed. The evil complained of, however, it is said, has continued to exist, and that too accompanied with aggravated circumstances, which have led to other rigorous legislation ; whilst also appeals have been made by several of the states through their legislatures to the non-slaveholding states, asking them to legislate on the subject so as to make punishable in all the states the issuing of such publications as strike at the peace and security of other parts of the Union. Congress has also been occupied in much unprofitable discussion growing out of the present state of things, whilst from one part of the country petitions flowed in upon the two houses for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia ; and from another, efforts were made to subject the Post-office establishment to such regulations that a supervisory power should exclude from the mails all publications deemed incendiary, and also to secure from

our national legislature a pledge that the United States has no authority touching the question of slavery, even within their own domain, the ten miles square in which our capitol is located. The greatest circumspection should, doubtless, be observed for the safety of the South, or the consequence of remissness on their part will be the sacrifice of many valuable lives, both among the whites, who may be the victims of an insurrectionary movement, and the blacks, who would fall in its suppression.'

'Have we reason to suppose that an insurrection of the negroes at the South will ever be permanently successful? It was, I believe in St. Domingo?'

'It cannot be attended with permanent success so long as the Union endures. Mr. Clay has correctly remarked: "It would be speedily suppressed by the all-powerful means of the United States; and it would be the madness of despair in the blacks that should attempt it. But if attempted in some parts of the United States, what shocking scenes of carnage, rapine, and lawless violence might not be perpetrated before the arrival at the theatre of action of a competent force to quell it! And after it is put down, what other scenes of military rigor and bloody executions to punish the insurgents, and impress the whole race with the influence of example!"'

'The necessity of keeping the blacks in *ignorance*, it seems to me, is greatly to be regretted.'

'It is. I cannot myself, however, believe in such necessity. The slave and the free should both be instructed. In what way instruction should be given may be a matter of inquiry. This subject may be regulated according to what shall appear safest and most equitable in respect to all concerned. But to withhold moral and religious instruction from any human being, is altogether unjustifiable. To bestow generally that instruction also which prepares for the enjoyment of freedom, I think, is both duty and good policy. If the slave remain a slave, I cannot think that entire igno-

rance is necessary ; and if he is ever to be free, it is certainly necessary that he should be instructed.'

'I think I have heard you say, Pa, that you have given instruction to slaves, and that no objection was made by their masters ?'

'I have. I do not mean religious and moral instruction only either. I have heard a slave at the South recite from the Latin and Greek classics. That slave was also acquainted with the Hebrew. I have seen negroes at the South admitted to equal privileges in some of the first literary institutions. I know many slave-holders who disclaim the idea that it is *necessary* to keep slaves in ignorance ; and I know not a few benevolent masters and mistresses, who, either in person, instruct their slaves, or cause others to do it under their direction. This, it is true, is not according to the letter of the law. Jealousy and fear, *perhaps* I ought to say common prudence, have caused severe laws, which preclude the instruction, in some instances, of both bondmen and colored freemen. Not even religious and moral instruction is to be given except under certain restrictions. But I believe that any man in whom the community may have confidence, might pass his life very usefully at the South in the instruction of negroes, bond and free, with the entire approbation of the whites, notwithstanding all present legal enactments, their being little disposition to enforce the letter of the law except in necessary cases.'

'Of what use then are the enactments ?'

'The slave-holder, perhaps, will tell you that these enactments enable the Southern community of whites to keep the power in their own hands, against all who would exert a dangerous influence ; but that they were never designed to operate except as a preventive of wrong incentives.'

'You think, Sir, that the laws, in regard to blacks in the Southern states, would be of a very different character, were it not for the indiscreet measures of men who, professing to

befriend the slave, endanger the safety of both whites and blacks, in their hostility to slavery?

‘I do ; and there are a multitude of facts to which I might refer—facts of no doubtful character—in support of that sentiment. It is an opinion also which I have heard expressed by intelligent *blacks* at the South, who generally most heartily deprecate any interference in their concerns by citizens of non-slaveholding States. Their situation is made extremely trying oftentimes by such interference. Still I would by no means impugn the motives of any class of the true friends of Africa. Aspersions are often cast, no doubt most unjustly, on the motives of a portion of the advocates of universal emancipation. Incendiaries and evil disposed men there may be among them ; but indiscriminate censure is generally wrong.’

‘Why, Pa, do not the slaveholding States unite, and rid themselves of the evil at once ? I am sure they might do better than continue to cherish an evil so fraught with danger and solicitude.’

‘My daughter, they feel, (and I have no doubt that under existing circumstances the conviction is honest,) that they cannot rid themselves of the evil so easily as some imagine. There is, the Southron will tell you, a relation between the owner of slaves and the unhappy beings who are thrown upon him, which is far more complicated, and far more easily dissolved, than a mind, unacquainted with the whole subject in all its bearings, is apt to suppose—a relation growing out of the very structure of society. Go, for instance, to the slave-holder, and propose to him to emancipate his slaves. He feels the evils of slavery as strongly, and probably more so than you can feel them—and *who* will say that he has not as much benevolence in his heart as we in ours ? The laws of his State, framed according to the dictates of the best judgment of legislators, forbid emancipation, except under certain restrictions, which are deemed absolutely necessary to prevent pauperism, and wretchedness, and crime, and ut-

ter ruin ; and here are human beings dependant on him for protection, and government, and support. The relation he did not voluntarily assume. He was born the legal proprietor of his slaves, just as much as he was born the subject of civil government. This fact is often sneered at, but it is fact notwithstanding. And it is his duty, and a duty which he cannot well avoid, to make the best provision for them in his power. Too frequently, it would be just as humane to throw them overboard at sea, as to set them free in this country. Moreover, if he turn them out to shift for themselves, he turns out upon the community those who, in all probability, will become, many of them, vagabonds, paupers, felons, a pest to society. He will tell you that as a Christian, as a patriot, as a philanthropist, as an honest man, and humane friend of the blacks, he finds insuperable obstacles to the accomplishment of what you propose. He will tell you perhaps, that it is "a consummation devoutly to be *wished*." Many, I believe, are precisely of this state of mind.

'I acknowledge that I have had my northern prejudices ; and those prejudices were strong,—they stirred within me indignation. But I would now indulge in no sweeping anathema against the South. I have been, for years, in a situation to see the tremendous evil of slavery *as it is*. I can therefore sympathize with the slave-holder who regrets the necessity which, in a measure, compels him to hold his fellow men in bondage, whilst at the same time I abhor slavery. I can bear witness also to the humanity of slave-holders in the Southern states, so far as my acquaintance and observation has extended. It has far exceeded the feeling which I have usually found indulged towards blacks in my native New England, or in the Western or Middle States. The specimens of ill-treatment of slaves with which the world is served up, now and then, by the issuing of a new edition of the old stereotype form, and which seem to be but too well suited to the taste of a large portion of the community, are a wretched caricature, and as unfair specimens of the general

treatment which slaves receive as would be the assassination and murder of an individual in this State, held up as a sample of New York morals. A much kindlier feeling, I am satisfied, is indulged towards blacks at the South than at the North.'

CONVERSATION IX.

"Frown indignantly on the first dawnings of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."—*Washington.*

'THERE is a way, Pa,' said Caroline, the conversation being resumed, 'which some people have, of talking of slaves as "*property*," which is grating to my ears, and at which my mind always revolts.'

'As to that, my daughter,' said Mr. L. 'if any man talks of this species of property as if it were his unqualified right to hold his fellow-men in bondage without any regard to the circumstances and necessity of the case, the whole civilized world, and the laws of Christian nations, which have pronounced the slave-trade to be *piracy*, are against him. It is not often that we hear any man attempt to justify slavery in the abstract, or that we find one who looks upon his slaves in precisely the same light in which most people regarded them when the slave-trade was legitimate.

'There are, I know, exceptions to the generally correct and Christian sentiments and declarations of distinguished men at the South on this subject. I have read with painful sensations remarks that have fallen from the lips of some.

A Governor of South Carolina, in a message to the Legislature of that State, said, "Slavery is *not a national evil*; on the contrary it is a national benefit. * * * Slavery exists in some form *every where*, and it is *not of much consequence*, in a philosophical point of view, *whether it be voluntary, or involuntary*." A Governor of the same State has used still stronger language in vindication of slavery. But such sentiments, I am inclined to consider as an anomaly, on the whole, and not a fair representation of the views of the South; much less can they receive the approbation of the American people. The man who can utter them is far behind the age in which we live. I recollect also an address delivered in South Carolina by one of her distinguished sons, in which the speaker maintained that slavery, as it exists in the Southern states, is "no greater, or more unusual evil, than befalls the poor in general; that its extinction would be attended with calamity to the country, and to the people connected with it, in every character and relation; that no necessity exists for such extinction; that slavery is sanctioned by the Mosaic dispensation; that it is fulfilment of the denunciation pronounced against the second son of Noah; that it is not inconsistent with the genius and spirit of Christianity; nor considered by St. Paul as a moral evil." I have also noticed remarks upon the floors of Congress, of certain gentlemen; and read several addresses delivered in various slave-holding states, some of which take the ground that slavery "is sanctioned by the religion of the Bible," as well as justified in law; and one declares "solemnly and emphatically," that "if any man at the south makes but a movement towards emancipation—equal or partial—immediate or remote, he is faithless to the duty which he owes to his state—faithless to the duty which he owes to his God."

'Another specimen of Southern views on the subject, may be found in a debate which I have before me, that occurred in a synod of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia. A proposition was before the Synod that "all the domestic

relations stand upon precisely the same ground in Scripture." The REV. DR. H. expressed his astonishment at the views presented. He "could not agree by any means, that the relation of master and slave is precisely the same as that of husband and wife. No, nor at all the same. The one is a natural relation, ordained of God, and sanctioned by Him for the happiness of man; but the other had its origin in injustice and wrong, and is never sanctioned in the Bible; unless allusions to it as an existing relation and a tolerated evil are so *misinterpreted*. But because it is an *existing relation*, does it follow that it has a basis like that of the relation of husband and wife? God forbid! The relations differ widely and essentially, not only in their nature, but also in the fact that one is permanent, and the other continues only by the strong *necessity* of the case. It is absurd to maintain that there is a precise similarity in the relations, either in their natural basis or their perpetuity. I, for one, cannot consent to any phraseology which looks that way. It is *unscriptural and false*. I maintain that *slavery continues only by necessity; and that it OUGHT TO BE ABOLISHED AS SOON AS IT CAN BE, CONSISTENTLY WITH THE GOOD OF ALL CONCERNED.*"

'The REV. DR. B. a distinguished Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, was somewhat opposed to the views of his distinguished friend. He "denied that the relation is unlawful; it is recognized by Scripture. The apostles treated it as a relation *morally right, considering all the circumstances*. Nor can any thing be done to counteract the incendiary efforts of fanaticism, until we take scriptural views of this subject, and maintain them from Scripture. It is also impossible to do much for the extensive religious instruction of the slaves themselves, unless they are made to understand that their masters have a scriptural right to maintain their authority. The public mind seems to be much shaken upon this subject, even in our own section of country. But it is a fact established by *Scripture*, that the master has a moral right to retain his relation to his slaves.

There are, however, reciprocal duties for each to perform, which are too commonly and fearfully neglected."

'Another learned Doctor of divinity, the President of Hampden Sidney College, did "not think it necessary to take such ground. The truth is, that slavery is so much involved in the very texture of society, that immediate abolition is an utter *impossibility*. Even supposing the existing relation to be sinful, the abolitionists are so wild in their mode of action that they never can succeed. Nothing can be done in the way they are attempting. They do not seem to consider consequences at all, or to reflect that the subject has intricate relations, and many troublesome political and social bearings. On a certain occasion, it is said, an eagle caught up an innocent lamb, and was flying off with its prey in the air, when suddenly the intelligent bird was convinced of its injustice; and, desirous of making immediate reparation, it let go its hold, and dashed the lamb's brains out! Such is *abolition* benevolence!"

'The Rev. Mr. L. insisted with much earnestness, that it was "necessary to take the ground assumed by Dr. B. and by the paper read. The churches expect a full expression of sentiment on the part of pastors; and it will not do to give the subject the *go by*, in the way intimated by the last speaker. It is not enough merely to denounce the abolitionists, and to say that they are wrong. We ought to give the reasons of our difference of opinion, and to let them know that we maintain our existing relations with the slaves, because *the Bible gives us authority to do it*."

'The Rev. Mr. S. said, "the paper which has been read goes too far. It extenuates slavery, and leaves false impressions upon the mind. I justify slavery, not from Scripture, but from *circumstances*. Slavery is a moral evil, and ought to be done away as soon as possible. Better contend for immediate emancipation, than for perpetual servitude. The actual degraded condition of the African race is the only reason why slavery ought not to be abolished this very hour.

Ethiopia must one day stretch forth her hands unto the Lord, and my prayer is, that that time may speedily come ! Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, are the right of all ; and can only be taken away by the claims of a harsh and stern necessity. Something ought to be done at once, and effectually, for the amelioration of the condition of slaves. But let not this Synod, even in appearance, assume principles which justify the perpetuity of slavery."

'The REV. MR. W. said, "that to his mind two things were perfectly clear: 1st. The relation of master and slave is *justified by Scripture*. The Holy Spirit has marked out the existence of that relation. 2d. Our Saviour and his apostles never intended to interfere with the civil relations of society, except by the silent influence of religion upon the heart and life. Whenever an attempt has been made to *force* mankind, in anticipation of the preparation which can only be effected by the gospel, harm has always been done. I cannot but think that the views expressed in the paper are, in the main, correct."

'The REV. MR. T. another Professor in the Seminary, would "never interfere in a political way with any matter ; but would touch the subject in a *scriptural* way. This is a Bible question. Slavery has bearings upon very important actual duties in life, for which the Bible provides. The ultimate influence of the gospel will change the order of society : but it will be only *when all parties are willing that the change should take place*, and then who will complain ? The Bible has power to break every unholy bond, and to set every thing right in society. If any think slavery will be eternal, I differ very much from them. Nor does the paper, which has been read, contain any sentiment implying a desire to *perpetuate slavery*."

'The REV. MR. A. believed "that rash and bold assertions have unsettled the minds of many Christians in reference to slavery." He was for adopting a circular letter, giving a *scriptural* view of the subject. "The Bible, no

doubt, *tolerates the existing relation, in view of the circumstances of the case.*"

'W. M. Esq. a distinguished lawyer, remarked that he was "by no means satisfied with the spirit and principles of the paper. To say that slavery stands upon *precisely* the same ground with the other social relations, is to my mind very far from being precisely true."

"Such views leave the impression that slavery may continue an indefinite period without sin. For if the Bible sanctions it, the thing is morally right; and if morally right, we are under no obligations to remove it. But is this scripture? Must we sit still, and do nothing for the removal of this crying evil? Must we wait for some miraculous interposition of divine agency? With the Bible in our hands, no one can doubt that slavery is inconsistent with its spirit and its precepts; and we are *bound*, therefore, to aim at emancipation. Lord Chatham once said, that he would never come into Parliament, with the statute book doubled down with dog's ears to prove that liberty was the birth-right of British subjects. Nor will I, cried Mr. Maxwell, come into this Synod, with my Bible *doubled down in dog's ears*, to prove that slavery is wrong. No, sir, I will not undertake such a work of supererogation! One need read but the first chapter in the word of God to be convinced that slavery is wrong. How was man created? With dominion over the soul and body of his fellow-man? No! There was no slavery in Eden. Nor would there have been any to curse the earth, unless Satan had prevailed in the temptation. It is preposterous to go to the Bible to defend slavery. Its universal spirit is against the institution, gloriously against it! But some have said, that although slavery is wrong in the abstract, yet circumstances have made it morally right. This phraseology, Sir, I object to. That which is once *wrong*, can never become *morally right*. It never can become right in such a sense as releases us from obligations to attempt the removal of the original evil. It never can

become morally right, in the common acceptance of the phrase. The most we can say of it is, that it may be *tolerated* on account of an imperious and dreadful necessity. To say that slavery is morally right, would be a virtual abrogation of the law of love. Yet, whilst I deny that slavery can be said to be morally right, I maintain the existence of a necessity, which palliates, under the circumstances, the temporary continuance of the relation. But mark! I found my position not on Scripture, nor on the moral lawfulness of slavery; but simply on the fact of a *necessity*. To illustrate my idea: Killing a man in the abstract is wrong, just as slavery is. And yet I may kill a man *in a particular case* of self-defence. *Circumstances* justify me; self-preservation is a valid plea. And yet I may wilfully kill no man, *if I can avoid it*. I am bound to use every means to release myself from the necessity of taking the life of a human being. So it is with slavery. I have no right before God or men to keep my fellow man in bondage, except in view of the peculiar exigency. I may not rest satisfied while he is deprived of his liberty. I am bound to make every effort for his deliverance; and unless I do my best to get rid of the necessity, I am guilty of the sin of unjustifiable slavery—just as much as in other circumstances I would be guilty of unjustifiable homicide. But if I am aiming at emancipation, and doing that which is ‘just and right’ to my slaves, I may, during the interval, preserve my authority over them. It is the dictate of self preservation, as well as the impulse of benevolence, to do so.

“We must try to *get rid* of slavery. We have no right to cling to our slaves, under the delusion that the Scripture justifies the system as morally right. By colonization we can rescue many from their servile degradation. And if any other rational plan of emancipation is practicable, we are under obligations which no man may disregard with impunity, to embrace the occasion, and let the oppressed go free. In regard to *immediate* abolition,” said

Mr. M. "but one single opinion can flash through the minds of this assembly. It is a scheme of destruction and ruin. It is casting off the slave to let him sink. It is adding death to injustice, murder to oppression. God forbid that we should add this to our sins! But whilst I condemn the immediate abolition scheme, I cannot sanction the principles contained in the paper which has led to this discussion. Such principles, instead of tranquillizing Christians, would only disturb them the more; because their consciences will not *stay tranquillized*. SLAVERY IS ABHORRENT TO THE ENLIGHTENED CONSCIENCE, and all efforts to give it false peace, would, in the end, only increase its agitations. I am satisfied that *Southern Christians will not receive such principles*; let not the Synod of this ancient commonwealth sanction any principles which seem to justify slavery, especially from *Scripture*. Let us tell the world that we *abhor the system*, and only justify its continuance amongst us by an imperious necessity, which our feeble hands cannot now control. God forbid that we should assume a position, favorable even in appearance, to the perpetuity of human bondage!"

'I have thus occupied your attention by this debate at some length, because I think it but a fair expression of Southern views and feelings generally on the subject of slavery. I need hardly say that the proposition which gave rise to the debate was *rejected*.

'There are, it is to be supposed, some whose rashness is greater than their judgment, who assert principles which would find few advocates among the virtuous or considerate *any* where; but I am persuaded that there is a more correct sentiment prevailing at the South among the enlightened and influential part of the community than is generally supposed, and perhaps than might be inferred from this debate. Otherwise we might have less hope for the slave; greater fear for our country: and be led to endorse in despair the words of the poet:

"Yet, yet, degraded men ! the expected day,
That breaks your bitter cup, is far away ;
Trade, wealth, and fashion, ask you still to bleed,
And *holy men give Scripture* for the deed."

'But to show what have been the sentiments of the South on this subject, still more clearly, and what are the views which, we may expect, still prevail, I will also refer to other instances.

'Says one who has stood high in public confidence at the South, "Almost all masters in VIRGINIA assent to the proposition, that when the slaves can be liberated *without danger to themselves, and to their own advantage* IT OUGHT TO BE DONE." He adds, "If there are few who think otherwise in Virginia, I feel assured there are few such any where at the South."

'It was the language of PATRICK HENRY, "It would rejoice my very soul, that every one of my fellow-beings was emancipated. As we ought, with gratitude, to admire the decree of heaven which has numbered us among the free, we ought to lament and deplore the necessity of holding our fellow-men in bondage."

'Said ZACHARIAH JOHNSON, in the same debate before the legislature of Virginia, when the distinguished Patrick Henry uttered the above,—"Slavery has been the foundation of that impiety and dissipation which have been so much disseminated among our countrymen. If it were totally abolished it would do much good. * * The principle (of emancipation) has begun, since the Revolution ; let us do what we will, it will come round."

'GOVERNOR RANDOLPH, in the same debate, approved the hope "that those unfortunate men, held in bondage, might, by the operations of the general government, be made free."

'JUDGE TUCKER, in 1795, wrote, "The introduction of slavery into this country, is, at this day, considered among its greatest misfortunes." In 1803 he wrote—"Will not

our posterity execrate the memory of those ancestors, who, having it in their power to avert evil, have, like their first parents, entailed a curse upon all future generations? What a blood-stained code that must be, which is calculated for the restraint of millions held in bondage. Such must our unhappy country exhibit, unless we are both wise and just enough to avert from posterity the calamity and reproach which are otherwise unavoidable."

'GEN. WASHINGTON, in a letter to Robert Morris, dated April 12, 1786, says, "There is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of slavery; but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting." Again, in a letter to the Marquis de La Fayette, May 10, 1786, he writes, "The benevolence of your heart, my dear Marquis, is so conspicuous on all occasions, that I never wonder at any fresh proofs of it; but your late purchase of an estate in the colony of Cayenne, with a view of emancipating the slaves on it, is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country. * * Some petitions were presented to the assembly, at its last session, for the abolition of slavery, but they could scarcely obtain a reading. To set the slaves afloat at once would, I really believe, be productive of much inconvenience and mischief; but, by degrees, it certainly might, and assuredly ought, to be effected, and that too by legislative authority." Again, in a letter to John F. Mercer, September 9, 1786, "I never mean, unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law."

'Mr. JEFFERSON asks, "Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis,

a conviction in the minds of the people, that their liberties are the gift of God?"

'JUDGE WASHINGTON, in a speech before the Colonization Society, expressed the decided hope that colonization "would lead to the slow, but gradual abolition of slavery," and "wipe from our political institutions, the only blot which stains them."

'GEN. HARPER has spoken of slavery as "a great moral and political evil, of increasing virulence and extent, from which much mischief is now felt, and very great calamity in future, is justly apprehended."

'GEN. MERCER remarks, "The hope of the gradual and utter abolition of slavery, in a manner consistent with the rights, interests, and happiness of society, ought never to be abandoned."

'W. H. FITZPUGH, Esq. who proved the sincerity of his remarks by the prospective liberation of all his slaves, and a liberal provision for them in Liberia, bears this testimony—"Slavery, in its mildest form, is an evil of the darkest character. Cruel and unnatural in its origin, no plea can be urged in justification of its continuance but the plea of necessity—the necessity which requires us to submit to existing evils, rather than substitute by their removal, others of a more serious and destructive character. There is no rivitted attachment to slavery prevailing extensively in any portion of our country. Its injurious effects upon our habits, our morals, our individual wealth, and more especially on our national strength and prosperity, are universally felt and almost universally acknowledged."

'WILLIAM GASTON, of North Carolina, formerly a distinguished member of Congress, and afterwards on the bench of the Supreme Court of that State, in an address before a literary and philanthropic society in the University of North Carolina, in 1832, said—"On you will devolve the duty which has been too long neglected, but which cannot with impunity be neglected much longer, of providing for the

mitigation, and, is it too much to hope for in North Carolina, for the ultimate extirpation of the worst evil that afflicts the Southern part of our confederacy? * * Disguise the truth as we may, and throw the blame where we will, it is slavery which, more than any other cause, keeps us back in the career of improvement. * * How this evil is to be encountered, how subdued, is indeed a difficult and delicate inquiry."

'Col. DRAYTON, of South Carolina, in the course of an elaborate speech in Congress, sketched a picture of slavery, and a brief of the views of the South, which was reported in the words following. Col. Drayton was ever regarded as not only a man of distinguished talents, but as remarkable for his candor, excellent judgment, and honorable feelings. "There was not a person who more deeply commiserated slaves than he did; but while their pillows are planted with thorns, their masters do not repose on downy beds. The miseries extended to the whole circle of society in which they move. He spoke from actual experience of these miseries. Could he destroy the evil, no zealous fanatic would more easily try to extirpate it than his fellow citizens of the South and himself. None know more the misery of slavery than those who hold slaves. Slavery is indeed a bitter draught, and though thousands are made to drink of it, yet still it is a bitter draught. Such are the peculiar habits of slaves, that they will enjoy the song and the dance, and spend the night in revelry and feasting, while the master is stretched on a sleepless couch. Would one feeling thus wish to perpetuate the evil? Let not such a mistake prevail. It is the interest of the master to ameliorate the condition of the slaves as much as he can; and those mistaken philanthropists who, without understanding the situation of this part of the country, intrude their efforts at amelioration, only make the condition of the slave more wretched. No one can administer successfully to a disease who is ignorant of its character. No one can beneficially prescribe, who is

ignorant of the effect of the medicine he administers. The citizens of the South know how far to go with safety to themselves, and he who ignorantly interferes, converts intended benefits into serious injuries. The Southern citizens know, but they suffer none others to interfere. Interference they consider as an injury, and are disposed to resent it as an insult. When gentlemen talk of government having a right to interfere, they speak without proper consideration."

'Such are the opinions of gentlemen of eminent talents, all of whom are, or were, of the South; most of whom, if not all, have been extensive proprietors of slaves. I may here also quote the sentiments and words of that distinguished son of the West, and brilliant statesman, HENRY CLAY. He says, "There are two extremes of opinion on this subject, in neither of which do I concur. The first is that of those who regard slavery as no evil, but a good. I consider slavery as a curse—a curse to the master, a wrong, a grievous wrong to the slave. In the abstract, it is all wrong; and no possible contingency can make it right. It is condemned by all our notions of natural justice, and our maxims of natural political equality among men. Necessity, a stern political necessity alone, can excuse or justify it; a necessity arising from the fact that to give freedom to our slaves that they might remain with us, *would be doing them an injury rather than a benefit*—would render their condition worse than it is at present."

'It certainly becomes us to be open to conviction, and willing to receive the truth. It is a great misfortune, growing out of the actual condition of the several states, some being exempt from, and others liable to, the evils of slavery, that they are too prone to misrepresent the views and wishes of each other in respect to it.'

'In some publications, Pa,' said Caroline, 'which Henry and I have been looking over since these conversations began, we have seen some very unkind remarks respecting the South, calculated to wound the feelings of her citizens deep-

ly, and exceeding severe on some of the gentlemen whose language you have quoted. In a certain paper, the writer, having selected certain passages from the writings of such men as Mr. Clay, Gen. Harper, Gen. Mercer, Mr. Harrison, President Caldwell, and others, exclaims—“ *Ye crafty calculators! ye hard-hearted, incorrigible sinners! ye greedy and relentless robbers! ye contemners of justice and mercy! ye trembling, pitiful, pale-faced usurpers! my soul spurns you with unspeakable disgust.*” I cannot think that good men, even among abolitionists, can approve of this language?

‘Such severity of denunciation against those who are, or were, among the wisest and best men of the country,’ remarked Mr. L. ‘is wrong, very *wrong*; and I cannot think it is approved by any considerable portion of the community. The writer is deserving of reprehension. His course will rivet the chains of slavery, not loose them. It were well for our country, and better for our colored population, especially for the slaves, if, in regard to this whole matter, every citizen were to cherish kindly and charitable feelings. The last advice of our illustrious Washington was, “**FROWN INDIGNANTLY ON THE FIRST DAWNINGS OF EVERY ATTEMPT TO ALIENATE ANY PORTION OF OUR COUNTRY FROM THE REST, OR ENFEEBLE THE SACRED TIES WHICH NOW LINK TOGETHER THE VARIOUS PARTS.**”’

CONVERSATION X.

"We determined not to suffer slavery there; but the slave merchants and their adherents occasioned us not only much trouble, but at last got the then government to sanction them. We would not suffer slavery, (which is against the gospel, as well as the fundamental law of England,) to be authorized under our authority; we refused, as trustees, to make a law permitting such a horrid crime. The government, finding the trustees resolved firmly not to concur with what they thought unjust, took away the charter by which no law could be passed without our consent."—*Oglethorpe.*

'Good morning, my daughter—good morning, Henry,' said Mr. L. as he entered the parlor, quite early in the morning, 'shall we now, although earlier than our usual hour for conversation, turn our attention again, for a few minutes, to the subject of Africa's wrongs, and the unfortunate relation to her children, into which our country has been introduced by the policy of England, and the cupidity of her traders in human flesh? I think we shall have an hour before the time for family prayer.'

Caroline and Henry were both pleased with the proposition. 'Will you tell us, Pa,' said C. 'at what time slaves were first brought to this country, and where they were sold. I shall be gratified to be more familiar with the facts that assure us that our country is not responsible for the original introduction of slavery to the Western world.'

'It will give me pleasure to gratify your wishes in this respect. The first shipment of slaves to our country was on the very year that the "Pilgrim fathers" of New England, as the first settlers of New England are called, first stepped upon Plymouth Rock, and thirteen years after the first settlement on the James river. The "cargo!" was landed at

Jamestown, and sold to the planters of Virginia. It consisted of twenty Africans from the coast of Guinea, brought to the colony in a Dutch vessel, under the sanction and by the authority of British laws. Although by the purchase of these and other slaves which soon followed, individuals lent themselves to the oppression of Africa's unhappy children, it is due to the colonial ancestry of Virginia to say that they, at a very early period, earnestly remonstrated against these importations. Their appeals to the British crown were loud and frequent, but unsuccessful. They had no voice in the government under whose laws slavery was introduced, and no control over its decisions. Therefore I have said that we are not responsible, as a nation, for the introduction of the trade. The origin of slavery in our land is to be referred to the agency of a foreign government, and the evil of slavery considered as an incumbrance connected with our English inheritance. It should be mentioned also to the credit of Virginia, that the legislature of that colony, at an early period, enacted laws to counteract the evil, by imposing restrictions on the introduction of slaves; and that it is, at the same time, a matter of history by no means honorable to the mother country, that those measures of the colony were discountenanced, and the laws which the legislature enacted, rejected by government as injurious to the commerce of England. Thus slavery, with all its unhappy consequences, was entailed upon the colonies to promote the supposed interests of England. It should be understood, moreover, that this very conduct of the British crown is a grievance set forth in the Declaration of our Independence among the causes of the Revolution.'

'Do you recollect, Caroline,' said Henry, 'those lines by Mrs. Sigourney, entitled *The First Slave-ship*!'

'I do not; but I should like to hear them. I admire Mrs. S.'s poetical genius; and take the more interest in every thing from her pen, since she was the esteemed friend of our dear deceased mother.'

"First of that race which curst the wave,
 And from his rifled cabin bore,
 (Inheritor of wo,) the slave
 To bless his palm-tree's shade no more !

Dire engine ! o'er the trouble main
 Borne on in unresisted state,
 Know'st thou within thy dark domain.
 The horrors of thy prison'd freight ?

The fetter'd chieftain's burning tear,
 The parted lovers' mute despair,
 The childless mother's pang severe,
 The orphan's agony, are there.

Hear'st thou their moans whom Hope has fled,
 Wild cries and agonizing starts ?
 Know'st thou thy hurried sails are spread
 With ceaseless sighs from breaking hearts ?

Oh ! could'st thou from the scroll of fate
 The miseries read of future years,
 Stripes, tortures, unrelenting hate,
 And death-gasps drown'd in ceaseless tears ;

Down, down, beneath the cleaving main
 Thou fain would'st plunge where monsters lie,
 Rather than ope the gates of pain
 For time, and for eternity.

Oh Afric' ! what has been thy crime,
 That thus like Eden's fratricide,
 A mark is set upon thy clime,
 And every brother shuns thy side ?

Yet are thy wrongs, thou long distressed,
 Thy burden by the world unweigh'd,
 Safe in that UNFORGETFUL BREAST,
 Where all the sins of earth are hid.

The sun upon thy forehead frown'd,
 But man, more cruel far than he,
 Dark fetters on thy spirit bound ;
 Look to the mansion of the free !

Look up, to realms where chains unbind,
Where powerless falls the threatening rod,
And where the patient sufferers find
A *Friend*—a FATHER in their GOD.”

‘Oh! it makes my heart bleed, said Caroline, ‘to think of the evils of which that first slave-ship was the precursor to our country; and of the wrongs which from that ill-fated hour that the cruel Dutchman found a market for his injured fellow-men, have been so unsparingly meted out to Africa by citizens of this highly-favored land. How I wish the purchase had never been made.’

‘Were the Dutch the first people who engaged in the traffic, Pa?’

‘No, Henry, slavery existed in Africa long before the transportation of slaves from Africa to this or to any country.’

‘It was in Africa that Joseph became the slave of Potiphar; and the Egyptians, you know, Henry, enslaved Israel,’ said Caroline. ‘When I think of these things, the thought occurs sometimes, that it is possible that Africans may again have their day of prosperity, and the whites, who are now their oppressors, may in their turn become slaves.’

‘It is too near the dawn of a happier day, I trust, for such apprehensions to be realized; but, my daughter, if such an event were to occur, think you there would not be one mind among us in regard to the evils of slavery? The prejudices which now blind the minds of many, that they can hardly see any injustice in slavery, would all be removed.

‘The practice of holding slaves, I was remarking, existed in Africa long before slaves were transported thence to foreign countries. The Moors of Spain and Portugal probably acquired the practice from the Mahometans in the North of Africa; and as evil communications and examples always have a corrupting tendency, the practice of employing and owning slaves soon prevailed among both the Portuguese and Spaniards. and then among other nations.

‘The commencement of the traffic in African slaves, by foreign countries, was probably in the year 1454; when Henry, King of Portugal, under authority from the Roman Pontiff, took possession of several islands and harbors on the coast, and from thence making descents on the swarming villages of Africa, seized the unsuspecting inhabitants and carried them into slavery. It would seem, from what of the history of the slave-trade I have been able to trace, that in 1481 the natives, having become terrified by the frequent depredations committed upon them, retired into the interior. Their invaders finding it difficult, therefore, to obtain slaves in so great numbers and so expeditiously as they desired, a treaty was made through the influence of bribes and presents, between the traders and African chiefs, the chiefs engaging to furnish subjects for the inhuman traffic. Wars between different tribes, man-stealing, treachery and distrust, misery and ruin, have been, thenceforward, the consequence; and slavery has been the systematized business of the several tribes.

‘The Portuguese have the credit, in history, of commencing the unhallowed traffic, and of introducing slavery into this Western world. In 1508, slaves were carried into Hispaniola, or Little Spain, as it was called by Columbus; now St. Domingo, one of the West India Islands: and in the year 1517 slaves were introduced into the Brazilian colonies in South America.

‘It is said that the project of transporting slaves from Africa to the New World was first suggested by Bartholomew de Las Casas, a Romish Priest. Previous to this time adventurers to the Western continent and the islands along the Atlantic coast, had, with extreme cruelty, reduced to servitude the confiding and unoffending Indians, the natives of the soil. The cruelty with which they treated the Indians, unaccustomed to such usage or to any confinement or privations, was very great. It is supposed that when the Spaniards discovered the Island of Hispaniola there were on it,

at least a million of inhabitants, (Las Casas thinks there were three millions,) formed into kingdoms, and each governed by sovereigns called Caciques. Such was the cruelty shown them by the Spaniards, that they were reduced to sixty thousand souls in the short space of fifteen years; and from the year 1508 to the year 1517, they were further reduced by brutal oppression from sixty thousand to fourteen thousand! A formal decree of the king of Spain had authorized this oppression of the natives, declaring "that the servitude of the Indians (was) *warranted by the laws both of God and man.*"

'A part of the system of cruelty carried on against these poor Indians,' said Caroline, 'was the hunting of them with *blood-hounds*, was it not?'

'It was; and these, I am sorry to say, were introduced by Columbus, who was in other respects a good and great man. Finding the natives determined to resist the oppressions of his soldiery, he determined on their extinction, and went forth against them with all his strength. The historian says that a "part of the force employed by Columbus on this occasion consisted of *blood-hounds*, which made great havoc among the native Indians." Las Casas says, in relating subsequent events in Cuba, "In three or four months I saw more than seven thousand children die of hunger, whose fathers and mothers had been dragged away to work in the mines. I was witness at the time of other cruelties not less horrible. It was resolved to march against the Indians who had fled to the mountains. They were chased like wild beasts, with the assistance of blood-hounds which had been trained to the thirst for human blood."* You recollect the revolting description Lord

* The circumstances attending the introduction of dogs into the South American continent and islands, and their subsequent wild state, are thus described in the History of the Buccaneers: "But here the curious reader may, perhaps, inquire, how so many wild dogs came here. The occasion was, the Spaniards, having possessed these isles, found them peopled with Indians, a barbarous people, sensual and brutish, hating all labor, and only inclined to killing and

Byron gives of the fierceness and rapacity of these animals when they have once acquired a fondness for human flesh :

“ He saw the lean dogs beneath the wall,
 Hold o’er the dead their carnival,
 Gorging and growling o’er carcass and limb—
 They were too busy to bark at him,
 From a Tartar’s skull they had stript the flesh,
 As ye pull a fig when the fruit is fresh,
 The scalps were in the wild dog’s maw,
 The hair was tangled round his jaw.”

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making war against their neighbors, not out of ambition, but because they agreed not with themselves in some common terms of language ; and perceiving the dominion of the Spaniards laid great restrictions upon their lazy and brutish customs, they conceived an irreconcilable hatred against them, especially because they saw them take possession of their kingdoms and dominions ; hereupon they made against them all the resistance they could, opposing everywhere their designs to the utmost ; and the Spaniards finding themselves cruelly hated by the Indians, and nowhere secure from their treacheries, resolved to extirpate and ruin them, since they could neither tame them by civility ; nor conquer them with the sword. But the Indians, it being their custom to make their woods their chief places of defence, at present made these their refuge whenever they fled from the Spaniards ; hereupon those first conquerors of the New World made use of dogs to range and search the intricate thickets of woods and forests, for those their implacable and unconquerable enemies ; thus they forced them to leave their old refuge, and submit to the sword, seeing no milder usage would do it ; hereupon they killed some of them, and quartering their bodies, placed them in the high-ways, that others might take warning from such a punishment ; but this severity proved of ill consequence ; for instead of frightening them and reducing them to civility, they conceived such horror of the Spaniards that they resolved to detest and fly their sight for ever ; hence, the greatest part died in caves and subterraneous places of woods and mountains, in which places I myself have often seen great numbers of human bones. The Spaniards, finding no more Indians to appear about the woods, turned away a great number of dogs they had in their houses, and they finding no masters to keep them, betook themselves to the woods and fields to hunt for food to preserve their lives ; thus, by degrees, they became unacquainted with houses, and grew wild. This is the truest account I can give of the multitudes of wild dogs in these parts.”

‘Las Casas, with the support of other ecclesiastics, devoted his life to endeavor the amelioration of the condition of the poor Indians. He crossed the Atlantic for the purpose again and again. He braved all dangers, and shrunk from no fatigue in their behalf, but unceasingly urged their claims at the Spanish court. In his sympathy for one class of his fellow-men, however, Las Casas forgot or disregarded the rights of another class. From at least mistaken motives of humanity, he finally proposed to the Emperor, Charles V., a project to import slaves from Africa, representing that the warm climate of the South would be congenial to their natures, and that thus the labor of the surviving Indians might be greatly relieved. This project, unfortunately, was adopted, and laid the foundation of slavery in the Western World.

‘The condition of the poor Indians, however, was by no means bettered. The Bishop of Chiapa, I mean Las Casas, had the mortification to find the chains which it was the object of his life to break, rivetted more firmly, while the poor Africans became, through his influence, fellow-sufferers with the Indians in slavery! The final and mournful history of these Indians has been written, in one sentence, by the biographer of Columbus. Says Irving, “they have long since passed away, pining and perishing beneath the domination of the strangers whom they welcomed so joyfully to their shores.”

‘The error of Las Casas is one into which even *good* men of ardent temperament and philanthropic minds may sometimes fall, impressed with the importance of a subject which enlists the best feelings of human nature. They may take too limited and partial a view of the subject, and lose sight of important connections and incidental circumstances, in their devoted attention to the single object which absorbs their immediate sympathies.’

Caroline here suggested, ‘It would be extremely unfortunate if by any imprudent, or misdirected zeal, we should be

guilty of a similar error, in attempting to better the condition of the enslaved Africans in our land, and should thus bring down upon them and our country greater evils than we are striving to avert. This I should infer, is feared by some. You, I think, intimated, some time since, that harsh and censorious language, and coercive measures, have that tendency.'

'We cannot, with propriety, or with good hope of safety or success, be indifferent to consequences; or refuse to take counsel of circumstances, in determining the best way of promoting any cause, however good. Nothing, surely, is to be gained by indulging in contemptuous, acrimonious, or threatening language towards our Southern brethren in regard to slavery. They, it is to be presumed, know as well as we the tremendous evils of slavery, and are far more deeply concerned than we in an application of the proper remedy. The course which is sometimes taken in regard to this subject, is not fraternal, and therefore neither politic or wise. Language that is calculated unnecessarily to wound, and consequently to destroy harmony of feeling, sentiment and action, on this important subject, should be carefully avoided. Besides, it should be considered that no measures can tend to the ultimate benefit of the slaves, in which the slave-holders do not generally and heartily concur. The best interests of slave and master are probably more identified with each other, and involved, than is generally believed. There are circumstances which render entire and immediate emancipation ruinous to both master and slave; and there are circumstances which are felt also at the South, that render it desirable to the master that slavery should end.

'At the same time that I make these remarks, I must also say that no pretence of political necessity can plead a valid excuse for those who would perpetrate any wrongs whatever. The butchery by wholesale, (for it was little better than wholesale butchery,) of the poor Indians in Hispaniola, was pursued under a most execrable pretence, that

of political necessity. And in the same plea, almost every public crime which has disgraced our race, and made the world an arena of strife, a field of blood, has found its constant defence. That whole policy I would repudiate, and utterly detest. There may be circumstances, however, which render it an imperious duty, doubtless, in aiming even to redress the wrongs that have been done, to inquire seriously and prayerfully into the *best manner*, and the most probably successful *means* of redress. Many in our land profess to find themselves precisely in this situation in respect to the slave question. The evil, say they, is entailed upon our country as a heavy curse: and how to bring about its final removal in a way that shall be best for the slave, and best for the country, is a question of most difficult solution. By all, its importance is confessed to be great. In the view of many of the most energetic friends of Africa, it assumes a magnitude and complicateness which causes the deepest anxiety. In my own view, it is a question which may well task the wisdom of the wise, and give ample scope to the benevolence of the humane.'

'Why, Pa, to plead for perpetuating slavery on the ground that our own interests require it, since the system is established, would be to take advantage of our own wrong. I hope that slavery will soon be viewed by all as an evil that calls loudly for redress, and that our country will yet unite in some measures to free our land from the reproach of slavery, letting the oppressed go free. I feel great confidence, since these conversations began, that this consummation will be brought about. The subject has assumed, in many important respects, an entirely new aspect, in my humble view. The evils of slavery magnify, and the "*quo modo*," as Henry says, seems to be attended with very embarrassing considerations, when we contemplate the extinction of the evil. But slavery, it appears to me, must cease; Christians cannot, must not cease to pray and labor for its extinction.'

## CONVERSATION XI.

“It is the very madness of mock prudence to oppose the removal of a poisoned dish, on account of the pleasant sauces, or nutritious viands which would be lost with it.”—*Coleridge*.

‘In our last conversation, we noticed briefly the commencement of the African slave-trade. The English and other nations in succession followed the example of Portugal and Spain, and engaged in the horrid traffic. More than three centuries, until lately, some of the Christian powers of Europe have been engaged in it; and, for more than a century and a half, it was prosecuted by all Christendom, without hesitancy or remorse. The English, the Dutch, the French, the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Danes, have all engaged in the traffic.

‘The French Guinea-Company contracted, in 1702, to supply the Spanish West Indies with 38,000 negroes in ten years. In 1713 a treaty was made between England and Spain, for the importation of 144,000 negroes, in thirty years. From 1768 to 1786, one hundred thousand slaves were annually exported from Africa. In 1786 England alone employed in the traffic 130 ships.

‘Some have estimated the whole number of slaves exported from Africa since the origin of the trade, at more than 20,000,000. Certain it is, that the most potent nations of the earth have seemed to vie with each other in this fiendish work.’

‘And yet, Pa, these nations call themselves civilized and Christian!’

‘Yes, it is a painful reflection, as it is an indelible reproach, that for so long a time the intercourse of Christian

nations with Africa, instead of imparting the blessings of civilization and religion, tended only to destroy the happiness of Africa and debase its character.'

'The Africans surely cannot have conceived a very favorable impression respecting either our religion or our humanity?'

'The treatment which they have received, it is said, had caused them to identify Christianity with perfidy and cruelty, until recent efforts were made to colonize Africa with freemen, and to civilize and christianize that dark continent by means of colonization. Mr. Newton, who, you know, resided for a time in Africa, and was engaged in the slave-trade when the world seemed to be blind to the iniquity of the traffic, says, that such has been the influence of the slave-trade, in cherishing among the unfortunate Africans the vilest passions, enkindling among them intestine wars waged for the purpose of obtaining captives, and inciting them to betray and kidnap one another, that instead of the influence of Europeans being favorable to piety, "the best people in Africa are those who have had the least intercourse with Europeans!" The Africans, he says, are worse in proportion to their acquaintance with us; and often, when charged with a crime, they will say, "Do you think I am a *white man*?"'

'I suppose that most of the slaves brought from Africa, are captives taken by one tribe from another, in war?'

'Mr. Clarkson, I think, divides the slaves into seven classes. The most considerable class consists of kidnapped, or stolen Africans. In obtaining these, every species of injustice, treachery and cruelty are resorted to. This class, Mr. C. supposes, embraces one half of the whole number transported from Africa. The second class consists of those whose villages are set on fire and depopulated in the darkness of night, for the purpose of obtaining a portion of their inhabitants. The third class consists of those who have been convicted of crimes. The fourth, of prisoners in wars



that originate from common causes, or in wars made solely for the purpose of procuring captives for slaves. The fifth, such as are slaves by birth. The sixth and seventh, such as have surrendered their liberty by reason of debt, or by other imprudence, which last, however, are comparatively few in number.'

'Are they taken principally near the coast, or are they from the interior?'

'They are sometimes brought a distance of a thousand miles; marched over land in droves, or caufles as they are called, secured from running away, by pieces of wood which yoke them together by the neck, two and two, or by other pieces fastened with staples to their arms.'

'They are then, I suppose, carried to the "slave-factories," and there sold in order to be shipped?'

'Some are carried to what are called slave-factories; others immediately to the shore, and conveyed in boats to the different ships whose captains have captured or purchased them. The men are confined on board the ship, two and two together, either by the neck, leg, or arm, with fetters of iron; and are put into apartments, the men occupying the forepart, the women the afterpart, and the children the middle. The tops of these apartments are grated for the admission of light and for ventilation when the weather is suitable for the gates to be uncovered, and are about three feet three inches in height, just sufficient space being allotted to each individual to sit in one posture, the whole stowed away like so much lumber.'

'Poor creatures!' said Caroline, 'how wretched they must feel, to find themselves in this situation confined for transportation to a land of strangers and to a house of bondage—to scenes of ignominy and perpetual servitude. They must indeed feel wretched beyond expression. O how hard is the human heart!'

'It is said that many of them whilst the ships are waiting for their full lading, and whilst they are near their na-

tive shore which they are no more to set foot upon for ever, have been so depressed, and overwhelmed with such unsupportable distress, that they have been induced to die by their own hands. Others have become deranged and perfect maniacs, or have pined away and died with despairing, broken hearts.'

'Horrid! Are they kept in the confined situation you have described, during the whole passage, and allowed no exercise nor access to the fresh air? I should think they would *all* die, Pa?'

'In the day-time, in fair weather, they are sometimes brought on deck. They are then placed in long rows on each side of the ship, two and two together. As they are brought up from their apartments, a long chain is passed through the shackles of each couple, successively, and thus the whole row is fastened down to the deck. In this situation they receive their food. After their coarse and meagre meal, a drum is beaten by one of the sailors, and at its sound the negroes are all required to exercise for their health, jumping in their chains as high as their fetters will let them; and if any refuse to exercise in this way, they are whipped until they comply. This jumping, the slave merchants call "*dancing*."

'I have read frequent accounts of these cruelties,' said Henry; 'and have understood, as I think you also told us, that the poor slaves suffer most in what is called "the middle passage:" that is, I suppose, the whole time they are on board ship after they sail?'

'Yes. It is the whole passage from the time the ship weighs anchor until she arrives at her destined port. On the passage, the situation of the slave is, indeed, doubly deplorable, especially if the ship have a long passage, and is very full. A full-grown person is allowed, in the most commodious slave-ships, but sixteen inches in width, three feet three inches in height, and five feet eight inches in length. They lie in one crowded mass on the bare planks, and by

the constant motion of the ship, are often chafed until their bones are almost bare, and their limbs covered with bruises and sores. The heat is often so great, and the air they breathe so poisoned with pestilence by the feverish exhalations of the suffering multitude, that nature can no longer sustain itself. It is no uncommon occurrence, to find, on each successive morning, some who have died during the night, in consequence of their suffering and confined situation. A large proportion of those who are shipped, die before they have crossed the ocean. Many also die soon after completing the voyage, from what is called "the seasoning;" that is, in becoming acclimated in the country to which they are carried.'

'Poor Africans! My heart bleeds at their sufferings,' said Caroline, whose eyes now suffused with tears; 'their home was, no doubt, a "sweet home" to them—as much to them as ours is to us; and, perhaps, they were once as happy.'

'They were not civilized!' interrupted Henry.

'No,' said Mr. L. 'they were not civilized according to *our* ideas of civilization; but they were a comparatively contented, happy race. It was not until slave dealers introduced among them every thing that could please the fancy and awaken the cupidity of uncivilized men, that the exterminating wars which since have scarcely ceased, were known. By the more than brutal cruelty of white men, quarrels were fomented, tribe was set against tribe, and each supplied with the means of mutual destruction.\*'

\* 'The author does not mean here to assert that the *slavery* of Africans is of modern invention. Slavery is of very remote antiquity. We find it existing even before the flood. Moses, when he gave laws to the Jews, recognises its existence, and gives laws respecting it. There is no doubt either that slavery has existed in Africa from a very early period, the natives having made slaves of their brethren from the earliest times of which we have any historical acquaintance; and from a very early period, Africa has been spoiled and

‘What proportion, Sir, of those who have been torn away from their home, are supposed to have died on the passage, or before their “seasoning” was over? There must have been an amazing sacrifice of human life in this traffic?’

‘Of 100,000 Africans supposed to have been torn away by the hand of violence from their native clime, annually, *one third* are supposed to have *died on the passage and been consigned to a watery grave*. Another third are supposed to have died from “the seasoning,” or from broken hearts.’

‘So then, Henry,’ said Caroline, turning to her brother. ‘dreadful to think! upwards of 60,000 out of the 100,000 torn away from Africa every year, die almost immediately, in consequence of hard usage and the change of climate!’

‘Yes,’ continued Mr. L. ‘more than 60,000, probably, die every year, in a few months after the galling chain of slavery is fastened upon them. Not a few of these, as I said before, die of broken hearts—not all from changes of climate and hard usage. A multitude of the murdered sons of Africa, will, another day, appear at the bar of eternal justice, to witness against their cruel murderers! From depths of ocean alone, a vast army will appear when the sea shall give up its dead, crying for vengeance against their inhuman destroyers! It would be very easy to harrow up our feelings by reference to well authenticated facts which show the cruelties attending the trade. If it were not already late, I would cite one instance, a sample of the estimate in which human life is held by those miserable men who are engaged in the trade. As it is, I will defer it until to-morrow.’

scattered by other nations. “In this situation,” says Park, “the great number of the negro inhabitants of Africa, have continued from the most early period of their history, with this aggravation, that their children are born to no other inheritance.” At least half the population of the entire continent have been in bondage to their own race from time immemorial, as they are now. What he would assert is, that this western coast of Africa, of which he is speaking, was, as appears by all accounts, in a comparatively happy state before the adventures of the white slaver upon that coast.

## CONVERSATION XII.

“Forth sprang the ambush’d ruffians on their prey ;  
They caught, they bound, they drove them far away  
The white man bought them at the mart of blood.  
In pestilential barks they cross’d the flood ;  
Then were the wretched ones asunder torn,  
To distant isles, to separate bondage borne,  
Denied, though sought with tears, the sad relief  
That misery loves—the fellowship of grief.”—*Montgomery.*

THE family were now together, and Caroline, having just risen from a short recreation upon the piano, seeing her father at leisure, reminded him that at the close of their last evening’s conversation he had promised to give them in the next, facts showing the recklessness of slave-dealers in respect to the lives of their unhappy captives.

‘The case to which I designed to refer, as exemplifying the estimate in which the lives and happiness of their miserable victims are held, by the still more wretched, because guilty beings, who bring the poor Africans from their native land, to suffer in chains, and then to toil for strangers, and finally to die in bondage, is that of three slave-vessels captured some years since by the *Dryad* frigate. The account which appeared in the English papers was as follows:—  
“The *Fair Rosamond* and the *Black Joke*, tenders to the Frigate *Dryad*, have captured three slave vessels, which had originally 1100 slaves on board, but of which they succeeded in taking only 306 to Sierra Leone. It appears that the *Fair Rosamond* had captured a lugger with 160 Africans, and shortly after saw the *Black Joke* in chase of two other

luggers. She joined in the chase, but the vessels succeeded in getting into the Bonny river, and landed 600 slaves before the tenders could take possession of them. They found on board only 200, but ascertained that *one hundred and eighty slaves, manacled together, had been thrown overboard, of whom only four were picked up.*"'

'O, shocking! a day of retribution surely must come for such hard-hearted monsters, such murderous fiends. *Why* is it that the Christian world have ever tolerated such dreadful crimes, such worse than barbarous cruelty? It must be that Africans have not been regarded as men; and yet I should suppose such cruelties would hardly be practiced towards mere animals, by *humane* persons. Are not the cruelties attending the slave-trade much less now than formerly?'

'It is said they are as great, and probably greater, now than they have been at any former period. Obstacles have been thrown in the way of the traffic, by the planting of colonies on the coast, and the vigilance of our own and of the English government has been increased, in order to detect and capture vessels engaged in the trade; but the slave ships are numerous, and are said to be crowded to excess, and the mortality is dreadful. In 1824, 120,000 was ascertained to be about the number exported from the coast of Africa that year, and a list of the names of 218 vessels, believed to be engaged in the traffic, was given. In the year 1827 no less than 125 vessels sailed to Africa for slaves, from Cuba alone. Previous to the establishment of the colony at Liberia, 2,000 slaves were exported annually from the single points of Cape Mount and Montserado. Slave markets were established all along the coast, and native kings were induced to engage in the trade on account of its enormous profits.'

'Do you know, Pa,' Henry inquired, 'what is the average cost of slaves in Africa, to those who engage in the trade?'

'The prime cost of the miserable victims enslaved on the shores of Africa, and sold in Havana for between two



and four and six hundred dollars each, is, I think, to those who engage in the traffic on the coast of Africa, a little more than one dollar "*a log*!" as is expressed in the inhuman jargon of the slaver, a log meaning a human body.'

'My mind,' Caroline here remarked, 'is continually reverting to the awful scenes of the first apprehension of the poor African, and of his adieu to his native land.'

Mr. L. thought that 'it would be impossible for our liveliest conceptions to portray the feelings of the poor slaves at those moments, or to tell the awful amount of that load of grief which continues for a long time to weigh down their hearts. We may imagine them turning their weeping eyes towards their native shores, at their departure, and associate with that last lingering look thoughts that overwhelm the mind; we may think of the unutterable desolation of the fond father or mother torn from the children of their love; the feelings of children forced away from their parents into hopeless exile; the pangs of separation between husbands and wives no more to meet this side the grave; but we have only a very inadequate idea after all of the bitterness of that cup of wo which they have to drink to the very dregs! It is difficult for us to bring such scenes, and such griefs to our own doors and bosoms, and measure the sufferings of others by what would be our own, placed in a similar condition. We are so accustomed to think disparagingly of the blacks that our sympathy does not expand on this subject as on occasions where there is actually less to move our feelings. We have acquired a habit of looking upon Africans as not susceptible of like emotions with ourselves, and when their miseries are the theme, there is comparative indifference. We associate with the black skin a want of sensibility which observation and facts will by no means justify.

"Fleecy locks and black complexion  
 Cannot forfeit nature's claim;  
 Skins may differ, but affection  
 Dwells in white and black the same."

‘ You recollect, probably, the affecting case of the African chief captured and brought in chains to the Rio Pongas for sale, a few years ago ? He was brother of Yaradee, the king of the Solima nation. His noble figure and daring eye, and commanding front, bespoke a mind which knew no alternative, save freedom or ruin. He was exhibited for sale like a beast, in the market place, still adorned with ornaments of massy gold, as in the days of his glory. The tyrant who had seized and bound him, and now offered him for sale, demanded an enormous price of the chief or of his friends, as the condition of his being released, rather than sent in bondage to a far country. The warrior offered large sums for his redemption, but his *owner* refused to listen to the proposals. At length, distracted by the very thought of his degradation, tears stole from eyes that never wept before, and he entreated those around him to cut his hair, which had been permitted to grow long and was platted with peculiar care, in which wedges of gold were concealed ; and these treasures he laid at the feet of the keeper, to obtain a ransom. All, however, was in vain. The wretch who held him was inexorable. He gave the chief to understand that he should take care of the gold, and get as much gold for him as he could besides. Dark despair settled upon the soul of the noble captive, “ then burst his mighty heart.” In a moment, as if from an instant stroke from on high, his faculties were shattered. Unable to sustain himself under the workings of his wounded spirit, he became a furious maniac ; and then suddenly withered and perished ! He had never trembled in fields of blood and death ; but he could not endure the thought of servitude and chains.’

‘ I recollect the story,’ said Henry, ‘ and I recollect some lines which appeared soon after the occurrence, entitled

## THE AFRICAN CHIEFTAIN.

“And must this mighty spirit yield,  
 This robust frame give up its breath,  
 Not nobly on the bloody field  
 Where valor sinks in death?  
 But bound with an inglorious chain,  
 The scorn of every coward slave?  
 The thought is madness—I disdain  
 To die but with the brave.

Break! break these fetters! and I'll bring  
 A precious treasure to your hand—  
 Know, I'm the brother of a king  
 Who rules a golden land.  
 These massy rings assert my fame,  
 I've wealth concealed within my hair—  
 More shall be yours, if more you claim,  
 But save me from despair!

Thus spoke the Chieftain, and the tear  
 Stole silent down his manly face;  
 Not death, not death, he cried, I fear—  
 I fear but this disgrace!  
 Bold mountains of my native land,  
 I'm lost—nor ever more shall see  
 Those rugged heights, that daring stand,  
 And say we shall be free.

O give me drink, my hopes are dead,  
 In mercy break this cursed chain;  
 Act like the lion, take my head,  
 But not prolong my pain.  
 Souls of the mighty Chiefs, whose blood  
 Flow'd freely on that dreadful day,  
 You saw my deeds, how firm I stood,  
 Take, take this chain away.”

‘The incident has been preserved in my mind,’ said C.  
 ‘by some elegant and pathetic stanzas from the pen of Wil-  
 liam Cullen Bryant. As we happen to be in the vein of  
 poetry now, and as Mr. Bryant’s admirable genius for poe-  
 try is acknowledged both in our own country and in Europe,

I will repeat, in my turn, a few lines, with your permission, Pa ?

‘Certainly : Mr. Bryant’s poetry is always good.’

## THE AFRICAN CHIEF.

“ Chain’d in the market-place he stood,  
A man of giant frame,  
Amid the gathering multitude,  
That shrunk to hear his name.  
All stern of look and strong of limb,  
His dark eye on the ground ;  
And silently they gazed on him,  
As on a lion bound.

Vainly but well the chief had fought,  
He was a captive now,  
Yet pride, that fortune humbles not,  
Was written on his brow ;  
The scars his dark, broad bosom wore,  
Show’d warrior true and brave :  
A prince among his tribe before,  
He could not be a slave.

Then to his conqueror he spake—  
‘ My brother is a king ;  
Undo this necklace from my neck,  
And take this bracelet ring,  
And send me where my brother reigns,  
And I will fill thy hands  
With stores of ivory from the plains,  
And gold dust from the sands.’

‘ Not for thy ivory or thy gold  
Will I unbind thy chain ;  
That bloody hand shall never hold  
The battle-spear again.  
A price thy nation never gave  
Shall yet be paid for thee ;  
For thou shalt be the *Christian’s* ! slave,  
In land beyond the sea.’

Then wept the warrior chief, and bade  
To shred his locks away ;  
And one by one, each heavy braid  
Before the victor lay.  
Thick were the plaited locks, and long,  
And deftly hidden there,  
Shone many a wedge of gold among  
The dark and crisped hair.

‘ Look ! feast thy greedy eye with gold  
Long kept for sorest need,  
Take it—thou askest sums untold—  
And say that I am freed :  
Take it—my wife, the long, long day  
Weeps by the cocoa tree,  
And my young children leave their play,  
And ask in vain for me.’

‘ I take thy gold—but I have made  
Thy fetters fast and strong ;  
And ween that by the cocoa shade,  
Thy wife shall wait thee long.’  
Strong was the agony that shook  
The captive’s frame to hear,  
And the proud meaning of his look  
Was changed to mortal fear.

His heart was broken—crazed his brain—  
At once his eye grew wild,  
He struggled fiercely with his chain,  
Whisper’d, and wept, and smil’d ;  
Yet wore not long those fatal bands ;  
And once at shut of day,  
They drew him forth upon the sands,  
The foul Hyena’s prey.”

## CONVERSATION XIII.

“ I pass with haste by the coast of Africa, whence my mind turns with indignation at the abominable traffic in the human species, from which a part of our countrymen dare to derive their most inauspicious wealth.”—*Sir William Jones.*

‘ AGAIN we will turn our attention, for a short time, if you please, my dear children, to the slave-trade.’

‘ Has not public opinion undergone a very great change, Pa, in regard to the slave-trade within a few years?’ inquired Caroline.

‘ The change has been great, indeed,’ said Mr. L. ‘ Once there were hardly a few to be found to make any effort whatever for Africa’s relief. She was bleeding at every pore, but none commiserated her distress. She saw and there was none to help—she looked, and there was none to drop even the tear of pity over her miseries. Public opinion has been changing silently but rapidly in Great Britain and America for many years. Every passing year the revolution in sentiment has been more and more apparent.

‘ In 1766, whilst the sensibilities of the public were much excited by the fact that 132 living slaves had been thrown overboard from a vessel engaged in the trade, DAVID HARTLEY, a member of the British Parliament, laid upon the table of the House of Commons fetters that had been used in confining the unhappy victims of this traffic on board of slave-ships, and moved a Resolution, “That the trade is contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man.”

‘ In 1787 the Constitution of the United States fixed a period for the abolition of the trade, which by act of Congress became a law in 1808, prohibiting the farther introduction of slaves into the States.



‘In 1787 Wilberforce made his first motion in Parliament for the abolition of the slave-trade, which motion was renewed annually in Parliament for twenty years, until at length it was enacted that, after March, 1808, no slaves should be imported into the British Dominions.

‘On the 2d day of March, 1807, an act was passed by the Congress of the United States, the first section of which enacts, “that after the first day of January, 1808, it shall not be lawful to import or bring into the United States, or the territories thereof, from any foreign kingdom, place, or country, any negro, mulatto, or person of color, with intent to hold, sell or dispose of such negro, mulatto, or person of color, as a slave, or to be sold at service or labor.”

‘At length the Dutch, the Spanish, the Portuguese and the Brazilians made enactments against the traffic. France also denounced it, and Austria declared that the moment a slave touches an Austrian ship, he is free. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the sovereigns there present, and the States represented, pledged themselves to the suppression of the trade. And on the 23d of March, 1830, the prosecution of the slave-trade ceased to be lawful for the citizens or subjects of any Christian power in Europe or America.

‘The universal emancipation of slaves by the British government in their West India colonies, which took effect, August 1, 1834, is another most important step in the development of a right feeling in relation to this subject, and I cannot but hope, notwithstanding all unfavorable circumstances, that a very few years will have brought to pass all that we would claim of freedom, for slaves every where, and for the continent of Africa.’

‘But if I have understood you, Pa, you have said that the slave-trade is yet carried on extensively?’

‘I am sorry to say that it is, Caroline, notwithstanding the obligations of laws and treaties, to the contrary. When the United States, in connexion with England, declared the slave-trade to be piracy, and forbade the further introduction

of slaves into their possessions, the friends of humanity indulged the hope that a death-blow was about to be given to the traffic. Other nations, by important measures, encouraged the hope. The event, however, has caused great disappointment. I have before stated some of the slavery statistics, showing the state of the trade in 1824 and in 1827. From a document which I have seen, it also appears that from 1820 to 1831, no less than 322,526 slaves were imported into the single port of Rio Janeiro alone. By very recent documents, it appears that the abominable traffic is still carried on to a considerable extent in Brazil. The fact that the trade is now generally denounced, and declared illegal, and although it be declared by every Christian government piratical, will not alone be sufficient to destroy, or even materially to lessen the trade.\*

\* Brazil, Cuba, and other of the West India Islands are deeply involved in it.

The late Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton devoted himself with unwearied industry to the investigation of the extent and enormities of the Slave-trade. His labors extended through many years, and the results, as published in 1840, sent a thrill of horror throughout the Christian World. He proved conclusively, that the victims to the Slave-trade in *Africa* amounted actually to 500,000.

The following table, extracted from Parliamentary documents, presents the average number of Slaves exported from Africa to America, and sold chiefly in Brazil and Cuba, with the per cent. amount of loss in the periods designated.

| Dates.           | Annual average<br>number exported. |         | Average casualties<br>during the voyage. |  |
|------------------|------------------------------------|---------|------------------------------------------|--|
|                  |                                    | Per ct. | Amount.                                  |  |
| 1810 to 1815 . . | 93,000                             | 14      | 13,000                                   |  |
| 1815 to 1817 . . | 106,000                            | 25      | 26,600                                   |  |
| 1817 to 1819 . . | 106,000                            | 25      | 26,600                                   |  |
| 1819 to 1825 . . | 103,000                            | 25      | 25,800                                   |  |
| 1825 to 1830 . . | 125,000                            | 25      | 31,000                                   |  |
| 1830 to 1835 . . | 78,500                             | 25      | 19,600                                   |  |
| 1835 to 1840 . . | 135,800                            | 25      | 33,900                                   |  |

This enormous increase of the Slave-trade, it must be remembered, had taken place during the period of *vigorous efforts for its*

'Armed vessels may be sent to cruise off the coast, as they now do, to capture the slave-ships; but experience proves that no squadron will be likely effectually to prevent the trade, without the aid of settlements of civilized and christianized communities along the coast. Thousands of little rivers, and bays, that indent the shores of Africa, either refuse to admit our ships into their shallow waters, whilst they afford lurking and hiding places for those concerned in the traffic and well acquainted with the geography of the

*suppression.* England, alone, according to McQueen, had expended for this object, up to 1842, in the employment of a naval force on the coast of Africa, the sum of \$88,888,888, and he estimated the annual expenditure at that time at \$2,500,000. But it has been increased since that period to \$3,000,000 a year, making the total expenditure of Great Britain, for the suppression of the Slave-trade, at the close of 1848, more than *one hundred millions of dollars!* France and the United States have also expended a large amount for this object.

The disclosures of Mr. Buxton produced a profound sensation throughout England, and the conviction was forced upon the public mind, and "upon Her Majesty's confidential advisers," *that the Slave-trade could not be suppressed by physical force.*

The statistics in the Report above quoted, present also the following table:

| Years.     | Numbers. | Loss, per cent. | Amount. |
|------------|----------|-----------------|---------|
| 1840 . . . | 64,114   | 25              | 16,068  |
| 1841 . . . | 43,097   | 25              | 11,274  |
| 1842 . . . | 28,100   | 25              | 7,100   |
| 1843 . . . | 55,062   | 25              | 13,765  |
| 1844 . . . | 54,102   | 25              | 13,525  |
| 1845 . . . | 36,758   | 25              | 9,189   |
| 1846 . . . | 76,117   | 25              | 19,029  |
| 1847 . . . | 81,356   | 25              | 21,089  |

Here then we have the melancholy truth forced upon us, that the Slave-trade was carried on as actively in 1847 as from 1798 to 1810; while the destruction of life during the middle passage has been increased from 14 per cent. to 25.

The laws passed against it by the different Christian governments, and the measures adopted to enforce their authority, by increasing the chances of detection, multiplied its horrors, without in any degree diminishing the evil itself.

country, or enable the slaver being pursued, to elude the search. If any one factory, mart, or haunt, be broken up, word is immediately sent by the traders into the country, that slaves must be brought to some less frequented and unsuspected part of the coast which is designated, and there they are received with impunity, the traders with their vessels lying concealed perhaps under the woody banks of unknown winding streams.

‘It has been supposed, therefore, that COLONIES established along the coast are indispensable to the entire extinction of the trade. Colonies scattered along the whole coast would put an end to the trade effectually and for ever. The native chiefs of Sherbro district, through a strong desire to be shielded from the ravages of the slave-trade, presented one hundred miles of coast, southward of Sierra Leone, to the colony; and all the coast in the vicinity was cleared of slave-factories and slave-vessels. Several native chiefs in the vicinity of the Liberian colony desired arrangements to be entered into with them for the security of that part of the coast, and as favorable were the results.’

‘What is there, then, sir, to prevent the formation of colonies along the whole coast? It would, I suppose, be a great work—but is it not worthy of great effort?’

‘Many are hoping and praying and laboring for such a result, Caroline. I shall have occasion to refer to this subject again in a future conversation. It will be consistent with the plan which I have proposed for these conversations, to turn our attention now again to the evils of slavery as it exists in our own country.

‘We have seen how slavery was introduced here, at an unfavorable moment, the planters consulting their immediate profit and regardless of future consequences, and so falling in with the policy of England; and how slavery was still forced on these colonies in spite of remonstrance, the final welfare of America being an object of minor importance compared with the increase of the commerce of the mother country,

and the immediate supply of the English treasury. In 1772 the Assembly of Virginia went so far as to set forth, in a respectful petition to his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, the inhumanity of the slave-trade, and to suggest that it might "endanger the very existence of his American dominions." This warning is the more remarkable, inasmuch as it came from the first colony the English ever had in America, and one already involved in the evils of slavery; and it was yet more remarkable in the *event*—for the American colonies existed a very little time, after that warning, a part of the dominions of the monarch who would not deign even an answer to the petitioners. The warning was *prophetic*, if we might judge alone from the event.\*

\* The eighteenth century opened with events deeply affecting the future fortunes of the black race, and strangely connecting slaves with the career of popular government. The once mighty empire of Spain had grown weak. The line of her ancient monarchs was drawing to an end, in the person of a feeble and dying sovereign; and the war of the Spanish succession lashed the elements of strife into a foam. Louis XIV. wished to place his grandson on the vacant throne of Spain; but England and Germany resisted his wish, and all Europe was thrown into the uproar of a ten years' war. When it ended, England obtained, as her share of the spoils, a magnificent prize, the monopoly of the slave-trade. By the treaty of peace at Utrecht, she gained the exclusive privilege of bringing African slaves into the Spanish West Indies, and to Spanish America. For thirty years England was the active slave-merchant of the world. Her ships exclusively visited the African coast for slaves; and an immense harvest of profit was reaped from the unholy traffic. The western shores of Africa every where bore witness to the activity of the traders, and with British manufactures the Christian nation purchased slaves from the black pagan kings on the African coast. These slaves were shipped to the West Indies, to the Spanish Main, and to the North American colonies. Their importation into the plantations was found a profitable mercantile speculation; and the English slave-ships entered with their cargoes into every port of the Atlantic, south of Maine.

But the provinces at an early day dreaded the introduction of negroes. They tried at first to legislate upon the subject, and passed laws prohibiting their importation; but slaves were an article

‘Virginia, I have seen it suggested by one of her orators, “prides herself” that she has ever pursued the same course in relation to this matter,’ said Henry.

of commerce, and Britain had undertaken to regulate the trade of America. The anti-slavery legislation they attempted, consequently came into collision with the legislation of the mother country, and was nullified. Repulsed here, they tried remonstrance upon the subject; but did English merchants and manufacturers care for a colonial remonstrance? It was opposed to their interests, and was not worth the paper on which it was written.

The colonists were, however, strenuous in their opposition to the slave-trade, notwithstanding their legislation had been disregarded, and their remonstrances treated with neglect. The Penns tried to abolish slavery, and prevent the introduction of negroes into the province of Pennsylvania; but the attempt failed. Oglethorpe excluded slaves from Georgia, till the British government ordered their introduction. Virginia persevered in her opposition; “but,” says Mr. Madison, “the British government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to this infernal traffic.” South Carolina, like Virginia, tried to close its ports against slave ships; but South Carolina had recognized the right of the British government to regulate colonial commerce, and her resistance to the slave-trade was ineffectual. These efforts did not set bounds to the dark current which interest caused to flow from the African coast. The entire commercial policy of England in reference to this trade may be announced in a single sentence, as follows:

“We cannot allow the colonies to check, or in any degree discourage a traffic so beneficial to the English nation.”

So said the Earl of Dartmouth, in A. D. 1777, when the American jewel was falling from the crown. His earlship felt the passion which urged the negro upon our country, and cleared at a bound all the hedges and obstructions raised by the people.

But, besides this commercial motive for forcing the negro upon the provinces, there were others powerfully operative in bringing about the same result. “Negroes,” said the British statesman, “negroes cannot become republicans; they will be a power in our hands to restrain the unruly colonists.” Here was the germ of the opposition of the British government to a cessation of the slave-trade. Mercantile interest, without doubt, suggested the argument; but the government, by adoption, made the suggestion its rule of action, and slave-ships continued to visit every port, from Rhode Island to Florida. The colonies were thus kept as an open market



‘Virginia certainly deserves credit. During her colonial existence, when it was the determined policy of England to introduce as many slaves as possible into Virginia, her House of Burgesses passed no less than twenty-three acts

for slaves, both for a commercial and political reason—the commercial reason was, rich profits; the political reason was, that negroes could not “become republicans.” These two powerful motives kept the whole sea-coast open to the slave-ships; and it was not until the assembling of the Continental Congress, at the breaking out of the Revolution, that the aggregate opinion of the country was announced in an effective manner. Among the first transactions of that body, was an act which forbade the introduction of slaves.

The irritation of the provinces in this matter is energetically set forth in a clause introduced by Mr. Jefferson into the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, and which reads as follows :

“He (the King of Great Britain) has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, capturing and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he has obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, by crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.”

This clause, for reasons affecting Georgia and the Carolinas, was, with several others, stricken out of the Declaration, by Congress, before that instrument was signed; but it is a faithful exposition of the opinion of the provinces upon this subject. They knew, as well as statesmen in England, that negroes could not here “become republicans;” and their knowledge of the motive which induced the British government to persevere in bringing slaves into America, rendered them the more averse to their importation.

The grievances from this source co-operated with others to drive them finally to an assertion of their independence.—*M’Cartney’s Origin and Progress of the United States.*

tending to suppress the horrible traffic in slaves; all which acts were negatived by the king! In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, one of her most gifted sons, Mr. Jefferson, inserted a heart-stirring passage, charging the conduct of the king in putting his veto on these enactments for the suppression of the slave-trade, as a *crime*, aggravated by Lord Dunmore's endeavoring to stir up the slaves in the colonies against us. This clause was stricken out finally, because it was ascertained that it could not obtain the assent of all the States. In 1778, as soon as Virginia found herself in a situation to do it, although in the midst of a civil war, she made the African slave-trade punishable by death. And it was at her instance also that the act of Congress was passed, declaring it piracy, subjecting the offender to capture and punishment in any court of any nation which should pass the same law. So far has Virginia the merit of having maintained her claims to "the noble, the humane, and the adventurous for the right." Nor does she now fall behind any State in the Union in her professed abhorrence of slavery, and in a professed and apparent desire to see the country free from slavery's stain. Virginia, in common with the rest of the South, sees, or thinks she sees difficulties in the way of immediate and universal emancipation, which we in the non-slaveholding States do not, all of us, appreciate; but we can hardly avoid giving her credit for uniformity of practice, honesty of purpose, and a true desire to see slavery extinct in our land. It was the movement of Virginia in the correspondence which she authorized between her Governor, (since President Monroe,) and Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States, a copy of which is before me, attested by William Wirt, then Clerk of the Virginia House of Delegates, which led to the formation of the American Colonization Society, and to the founding of civilized and Christian colonies in Africa.'

'Did none of the other States, at an early period, adopt measures in relation to this subject?'

‘Yes, Henry, Virginia was earliest in setting the example for the exclusion of imported slaves; but a duty on the importation of slaves was laid by New-York, in 1753; by Pennsylvania, in 1762; and by New Jersey, in 1769. In 1780 Pennsylvania passed a law for the gradual abolition of slavery, which has the merit of being the earliest legislative proceeding of the kind in any country. All the States north and east of Maryland have since passed similar laws. At a very early period, the free-holders and inhabitants of the counties of Somerset and Essex, in New Jersey, presented similar petitions to that of Virginia in 1772, to the Governor, Council, and Representatives of the Province, against the slave-trade. The inhabitants of the city and county of Philadelphia also petitioned their Assembly against the slave-trade, citing the example set them by the Province of Virginia, in petitioning the king “from a deep sensibility of the danger and pernicious consequences which would be attendant on a continuation of the iniquitous traffic.”

‘On the adoption of the Federal Constitution, Congress was authorized to prohibit, at the end of twenty years, the importation of slaves into any part of the United States; which power was exercised at the appointed time.’

‘No slaves, then, have been legally brought into the United States since the year 1808?’ said Caroline. ‘I wish Congress had felt authorized to go one step further, and had fixed a time for the abolition of slavery in our land. We should not then be the reproach of the nations. England especially, I notice, is severe in her allusions.’

‘England,’ Mr. L. remarked, ‘has of late appeared disposed to do what she can to retrace the wrongs she has occasioned in her West India colonies. It were well if she could undo *all* the evil she has done. It has always been easy for her to make enactments in relation to her *distant colonies*; but I fear that, placed in precisely the situation in which by her reckless avarice she has involved us, the poor slaves might find as tardy justice at her hands as she charges

upon us. Legislation for the government of others is despatched sooner, and with much less difficulty, than when the enactments are to call for sacrifices on our own part. But Britain should neither be reproached in this matter, nor utter reproaches against others. Reproach uttered by her against this country, comes from *her*, surely, with peculiar *ill grace*. She has done well, I hope it will be found, both for Africans and for her West India colonies in directing emancipation. We will commend her for the good done, and pray that all her influence may favor the cause of Africa for the time to come. Her example, it may also be hoped, will influence us to love and good works. Let her remember, however, that it becomes her to be very sparing of reproaches in her allusions to us.'

Caroline here said she would acknowledge that her patriotism tempted her to covet for her country, the honor which England enjoys of being first in the work of universal emancipation, notwithstanding these reproaches.

'That is intended as a cutting remark, Caroline,' said H. 'which we were noticing this morning, from the pen of Mr. C. Stewart, who, I believe, is an Englishman: "Shall the United States—the free United States, which could not bear the bonds of a king, cradle the bondage which a king is abolishing? Shall a Republic be less free than a Monarchy? Shall we, in the vigor and buoyancy of our manhood, be less energetic in righteousness, than a kingdom in its age?"'

'There is much point too in those lines of Whittier,' said Caroline:

"Shall every flap of England's flag  
Proclaim that all around are free,  
From 'farthest Ind' to each blue crag  
That beetles o'er the Western Sea  
And shall we scoff at Europe's kings,  
When Freedom's fire is dim with us,  
And round our country's altar clings  
The damning shade of Slavery's curse?

Go—let us ask of Constantine  
To loose his grasp on Poland's throat—  
And beg the lord of Mahimoud's line  
To spare the struggling Suliote.  
Will not the scorching answer come  
From turbaned Turk and fiery Russ—  
'Go, loose your fettered slaves at home,  
Then turn and ask the like of us?'"

Mr. L. thought we should take an enlightened view of the subject, and not be too much influenced by the sound of words, whilst regardless of the real facts and circumstances of the case; but, feeling fatigued, proposed they should now defer the conversation until to-morrow: and, said he, as the bell rung for the family to assemble at evening prayers, 'We will remember Africa, and remember our country too, in our devotions.'

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## CONVERSATION XIV.

"We have found that this evil has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union, and has been prejudicial to all the States in which it has existed."—*James Monroe.*

'WELL, Caroline and Henry, I have another hour for Africa—and if you please, we will resume the subject of our conversation.'

Both responded at once, 'With pleasure, Pa.'

'Is it not generally supposed, Pa,' Henry inquired, 'that the United States, as a nation, cannot in good faith interfere with the question of slavery in the several States where slavery exists?'

‘ I believe that it is generally agreed among statesmen,’ said Mr. L. ‘ that the time and manner of abolishing slavery within the limits of individual States must be left to their own voluntary deliberations. The federal government, it is conceded, has no control over the subject : it concerns rights of property secured by the federal compact, upon which our liberties mainly depend. It is a part of the collection of political rights, the least invasion of any one of which would, of course, impair the tenure by which every other is held. An unconstitutional interference would, therefore, be most disastrous in its results.

‘ When the federal compact was formed, the entire abolition of slavery was a favorite object with many ; but they knew that this point, or the Union, must be surrendered. As much as they loved liberty, and as ardently as they condemned personal slavery, they had no other alternative but to leave it as they found it, existing at the South or fail of the great desideratum of *an union with the States*. A *compromise* was therefore effected. The South *conceded* that in twenty years the slave-trade should be abolished ; and the North conceded that the constitution should secure to the South a representation in Congress of three-fifths of their slave population, and that each State should be bound to surrender to the citizens of other States such fugitive slaves as should be found within their limits. In addition to which it was provided that the United States shall interpose, on requisition of either of the States, to protect its citizens against *domestic violence*. These principles are fully recognised by the constitution, and, as good citizens, we are bound to respect them so long as they remain a part of the constitution.

‘ In the amendments to the constitution, the effect of these provisions is confirmed, by the declaration that all powers not conceded to the United States, nor prohibited to either of the States, by the constitution, *remain* in the *separate* states. Hence it is inferred, that, as the constitution gives no control on this subject, the regulation of domestic slavery, which



was the exclusive right of the Southern States, before the constitution, remains with them, as one of the powers not transferred to the United States. The legal construction is, therefore, that the States holding slaves, retain the right of exclusive legislation over them, which right the United States cannot touch. The constitution, as it now stands, renders it as improper, it is contended, and as unavailing, for the non-slaveholding States to attempt to interfere with the regulations of the Southern States touching their slaves, as it would be for us to attempt to regulate the arrangements of the British House of Commons, or the doings of the French Chambers. And if the United States cannot, under the constitution, interfere with the regulations of slavery at the South, still less can any single State do so.

‘This is, I believe, a fair state of the case, nearly in the precise language which has been sometimes employed by distinguished civilians on the question of state rights.’

‘May not the constitution be *amended*?’

‘It may; but an amendment in this matter would, doubtless, result in a separation of the States. We, then, have no means of reaching the evil we propose to remedy. The South will become to us a foreign government, and we shall have no means of influencing the Southern states in regard to their slave population, more than we now have of influencing legislation on this subject in the island of Cuba. The question, therefore, seems to be, shall we have a union of States, or shall we shipwreck the whole on the question of slavery? Many suppose that, in this dilemma, we should exercise a spirit of forbearance, and do as our patriotic forefathers did in their determination of the same question. And they are encouraged to assume this position from the well-known fact that there is an increasing disposition at the South to be rid of the evil of slavery, and because they hope that the time is very near when there will be some happy, united, harmonious and final movement on this subject. Many also believe that a disposition on the part of the

North to interfere in this matter, has been the greatest obstacle in the way of a general movement in the South, and most injurious to the slave, whose condition it is the object of such interference to improve.'

'As Congress have control over the District of Columbia, I see not why slavery may not be abolished *there*.'

'The United States, it is true, may enact such laws as may seem expedient for the government of the District of Columbia. Many regard it as a dark reproach upon our nation, that, by the laws of the United States, the slave-trade is permitted to be carried on there. It has been said that the District of Columbia is "the principal mart of the slave trade in the Union," and that the public prisons of the District are used for the benefit of the slave-traders, "slaves being confined in their cells for safe keeping, until the drove or cargo of human beings can be completed!" But even this reproach, which has been declared on the floor of Congress, by a distinguished representative from New-York, "unchristian, unholy and unjust; not warranted by the laws of God, and contrary to the assertion in our Declaration of Independence, that 'all men are created equal,' " others contend is perpetuated by injudicious movements, which make the question of slavery so deeply exciting, that the matter cannot at present be discussed with the desired success, and with safety to the Union, or benefit to the slave.'

'But, Pa,' said H. 'we cannot but be interested, deeply interested in the subject, although it is a question that affects the South, more especially. All admit that slavery is a great evil, and must also allow that it afflicts our whole country. It is a national blot, inconsistent with our professions, and the constant occasion of alienation between different portions of our country.'

'For my part, Henry,' said Mr. L. 'I feel more than ever inclined to view all the States as one united whole, and hope that, as a whole, they will long be considered in the affections of every patriot.'

“ This is my own, my native land,”

is a sentiment we should all feel, and expresses a feeling which I am sure patriots will love to cherish.’

‘ But I really think, Pa,’ said Caroline, ‘ that the South are quite exorbitant in their claims, if they require us to be either indifferent to slavery, or silent and inactive when we think duty to our country, our southern brethren, or to the slaves, calls for decision and action.’

‘ I certainly think, Caroline, that there is a great degree of sensitiveness on this subject at the South, and they may, in some instances, seem to require too much: but I also think that, situated as they are, they have much to awaken their suspicions: and that although they cannot reasonably expect us to be indifferent either to their situation, our country’s good, or the slave’s best interests, and probably do not claim this of us, we are bound to support the constitution; and to respect the rights which it secures to a portion of our fellow-citizens composing a part of the Union notwithstanding. It appears to me that we are also bound by the spirit of the constitution, as well as by Christian principles, and the feelings of humanity, to abstain from all inflammatory publications whose direct tendency is to excite insurrection, and which are infringements of those rights which the constitution acknowledges and guarantees. An opposite course may justly be regarded as injurious, not only to the whites, but to the slaves, whose condition we desire to improve. By publications or movements tending to excite insurrection, we drive the holders of slaves to extremities—to enactments and to rigorous treatment of the slaves; even, as we have seen, shutting from them the light of life, and withholding the ordinary means of instruction—that is, if all their enactments are meant to be strictly enforced.’

‘ I suppose that Caroline,’ said Henry, ‘ refers to an article we were noticing this morning, in a southern paper, which asserts, that “ the North has nothing to do with this

subject of black population, and all their solicitude about it is meddling and officious.”

‘The evil is ours as well as theirs. The multitude of blacks which the severe legislation of the South drives into the free States, alone attests that we have a share in the evil. The reproaches which are cast upon our national honor, tell us that we have something to do with slavery. The convulsions which reach the very extremities of our land, and often seize upon the very heart of this great republic, and anger our national discussions, and give character to important events and measures, show that we may not be indifferent to the slave question. It has been remarked by a distinguished scholar, that “diseased members affect the entire physical system. Soundness is to be restored to the limbs, not by excision, which would both destroy them, and hazard the entire body; but by a general return of health, and a genial circulation to the whole.”

‘Another reason why I consider the evil as ours, is that the *guilt* of slavery is ours. We are too ready to appropriate it all to our southern brethren; but we have no power or right thus to wash our hands. From the *North* have gone ships and seamen and traders in human flesh, that have been polluted by the inhuman traffic, and the “pieces of silver” gained by them have been apportioned at the North. In the North were the forges which framed fetters and manacles for the limbs of oppressed and unoffending Africans. It was the iron of the North that pierced their anguished souls: and overgrown fortunes and proud palaces at the North still stand, reared from the blood and sufferings of unhappy slaves, which tell that the North have shared largely in the accursed spoils.

‘Besides, there is little room for boasting on our part, when it is considered that the different physical features and agricultural productions of the South and North have, as we have every reason to believe, more than the force or absence of proper moral feeling, banished slavery from the

one, and perpetuated it in the other. Had New-York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, or even New-England produced cotton, rice, indigo, and sugar, it is not improbable that slavery would have continued in these States and increased its numbers here to this very hour. The same may be supposed, without uncharitableness, of the new States north of Ohio, and east of the Mississippi.

‘There can be no good reason, I conceive, why, by fair argument, by our best influence, and by our pecuniary resources, we should not aim to promote the cause of patriotism and humanity, in civilizing and converting Africa, and in rendering mutual benefits to the oppressed among us, and to our beloved country. Nor should this be regarded by the South as unrighteous interference, or unkindness. Great wisdom, however, is to be used in this matter.

‘It was you, Henry, if I recollect, who were repeating, a few days since, some lines as an appeal to the North. Will you repeat them now, as they are not an inappropriate conclusion of this part of our discussion?’

‘They were written by Mrs. Sigourney, and are entitled “an appeal to New England.”

“When injur’d Afric’s captive claim,  
Loads the sad gale with startling moan,  
The frown of deep, indignant blame,  
Bends not on *southern* climes alone.

Her toil, and chain, and scalding tear,  
Our daily board with luxuries deck,  
And to dark slavery’s yoke severe  
*Our* fathers help’d to bow her neck.

If slumbering in the thoughtful breast,  
Or justice, or compassion dwell;  
Call from their couch the hallowed guest,  
The deed to prompt, the prayer to swell:

Oh, lift the hand, and Peace shall bear  
Her olive where the palm-tree grows,  
And torrid Afric’s deserts share  
The fragrance of Salvation’s rose.

But if, with Pilate's stoic eye,  
 We calmly *wash* when blood is spilt,  
 Or deem a cold, unpitying sigh  
 Absolves us from the stain of guilt ;

Or if, like Jacob's recreant train,  
 Who traffic'd in a brother's wo,  
 We hear the suppliant plead in vain,  
 Or mock his tears that wildly flow ;

Will not the judgments of the skies,  
 Which threw a shield round Joseph sold,  
 Be roused by fetter'd Afric's cries,  
 And change to dross the oppressor's gold ?" "

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## CONVERSATION XV.

"If the measure is, as we believe it to be, essentially national ; then we are all interested, and should be deeply concerned for its success."—*Gov. Trimble.*

'I do not see, Pa, why it should be a question to whom the duty belongs of helping forward this good cause ; nor why every citizen may not esteem it a privilege and an honor to do justice to injured Africa ; especially when, in performing this duty we act a filial part towards our own country.'

'The debt which we owe to Africa, is, indeed, a national debt ; and we are all interested in its liquidation. If, instead of mutual recrimination, South and North, East and West could combine their wisdom and benevolence to devise ways and means for the ultimate and speedy removal of the evil,



and if there could be mutual confidence between the different sections of our country in respect to this matter, I see not why the legislatures of the several States then taking the lead, our National Congress might not come up to the work and offer that national atonement which every consideration of justice and humanity would commend, and which would reflect bright honor on the generation that should do the deed. For this, if the South prepare the way, by her own action and example, I am sure the other States will not be backward in their duty ; and the debt which as a nation we owe to Africa, may be speedily cancelled by us as a nation.'

'Why, Sir, is it necessary that the South should move first in this matter?'

'I know not that there is any other necessity in the case than that of expediency and propriety. It appears to be a point universally conceded by statesmen, that the continuance, or removal of slavery, is solely within the power of the domestic legislation of the State in which it exists. It is very evident, therefore, that we can accomplish nothing by any measures on our part, except as the South approves; whilst it is equally evident that any measures on our part of a coercive nature, or calculated to disturb the domestic arrangements of the South, would be a violation of our political compact and of good faith.'

'But, Pa, you do not think that the subject of slavery ought *not* to be discussed even publicly if we please; and that no arguments should be used by us with our Southern brethren to encourage and persuade them to correct views and early action in respect to a final and general emancipation?'

'Certainly I do not. Dr. Channing, whatever discrepancies are found in his work, has clearly expressed my views on this subject: "Slavery ought to be discussed. We ought to think, feel, speak, and write about it. But whatever we do in regard to it, should be done with a deep feeling of responsibility, and so done as not to put in jeopardy the peace

of the slave-holding States. On this point public opinion has not been, and cannot be too strongly pronounced. \* \* To instigate the slave to insurrection is a crime for which no rebuke and no punishment can be too severe. \* It is not enough to say, that the constitution is violated by any action endangering the slave-holding portion of our country. A higher law than the constitution forbids this unholy interference. Were our National Union dissolved, we ought to reprobate, as sternly as we now do, the slightest manifestation of a disposition to stir up a servile war. Still more, were the free and the slave-holding States not only separated, but engaged in the fiercest hostilities, the former would deserve the abhorrence of the world, and the indignation of heaven, were they to resort to insurrection and massacre as means of victory."

'The right of discussion is sometimes claimed in a sense which is far from reasonable; and there is often in connection with this claim a disposition to go beyond the law for a rule of action, and to justify that which the law and public opinion condemns. There is indeed an alarming propensity among men at the present day, to set all rightful authority at defiance, under the dangerous pretence that the end justifies the means. Even that liberty of speech which is justified by law, it is not always expedient to exercise; and that which is clearly inexpedient, although not condemned in civil law, is morally wrong.'

'But, suppose,' said Henry, 'that I find slavery forbidden in holy Scripture, and am impressed with the belief that, regardless of consequences, I ought to assist and favor the slave, and on all occasions, to resist and lift up my voice against the institution?'

'If we suppose this, we suppose one thing which it may be very difficult to prove; and another which, if reality, might be altogether insufficient to convince the world that our *impressions* have any claim to an inspiration from above, or that they clothe us with any authority to trample under

foot the rules of propriety and morality, and the laws of the land. It will never do for us to be guided by the vagaries of the human intellect. One person thinks that there should be a community of property; another that the law of marriage is a monopoly, and that all contracts under that law should cease at the will of the parties; another believes the law which punishes the felon with death involves the whole State in guilt, and that capital punishments should be resisted: suppose that each claims an unrestricted right of discussion, and becomes the open and fearless advocate for his peculiar opinion and its legitimate fruits, would such a course show proper respect either for civil law, or the law of God which requires that we render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are his? The Scriptures do not undertake to legislate for the nations in respect to their domestic economy; nor do they, in any case, decide the question of property, even though the question relate to an *alleged right* to the *service of our fellow-man*. They recognise slavery as existing under the Mosaic dispensation, and also under the Christian dispensation, and direct in respect to the duties of masters and of servants and slaves, without, as I can see, in all this, either sanctioning slavery as just, or treating it with direct censure.

“What the law of our land is, in relation to slavery, you well know. As slavery “has existed, in all time, in the fairest regions of the earth, and among the most civilized portions of mankind,” so it has been organized and sustained by law. “Our own government, not long since, made a claim on Great Britain for the value of the *property* of citizens of the United States in some hundred human slaves. The principle was admitted by the English nation; the amount to be paid was referred to the arbitration of the Emperor of Russia; the claim was allowed, and the money received and distributed to the claimants for their loss of property in slaves.” The principle is acknowledged and guaranteed by our constitution; and the fact is recognized,

and the existence of such property acknowledged as often as a runaway slave is taken, on the application of his master, in the non-slaveholding States. "Our Supreme Court, referring to the period when slavery was recognised here by law, has in numerous instances adjudicated important rights on the doctrine that where slavery does exist or has existed by the law of the land, such law did admit, and must now be deemed to admit, the existence of property in human beings." Property is thus considered "the creature of municipal law;" and, indeed, property of no kind exists without law. The laws may be unwise, impolitic, unjust, and cruel; but still they have their effect; and although "arguments may very properly be urged to prove that the laws ought to be changed," yet no action can be tolerated in society which, while the laws stand, goes to make them "imperative and void." Good order requires an observance of the laws so long as they remain.

'The mere right of discussion is unquestionable. It is well declared to be "one of the elements of public liberty;" and the South require too much, if they demand of us that we shall abstain from the free discussion of any subject whatever. Still, the legal right, "like all other human rights, is to be controlled by a high moral responsibility;" and, there are cases where "the expediency of the exercise of such rights may become matter of most grave consideration." It is very clear that sweeping denunciations, harsh aspersions, and threatening invectives, are always calculated "to produce obduracy in error and resentment for indignity, sustaining a man in his vices even, by motives of supposed self-respect." Slavery is now permitted in fifteen States and Territories; and the amount of property claimed in the slaves in these States and Territories by five millions of free-men, is not less than *five hundred millions of dollars*—some estimates say \$800,000,000! And the subject calls for much consideration and forbearance on our part, lest by our injudicious movements we protract the evil which we

desire to see come to an end. In seeking the accomplishment of any great object, common prudence dictates that we take mankind as they are, and not as we should have them.

‘It is an indubitable fact, in my own view, that such may, through the force of circumstances, become the state of society, that great moral evils may be tolerated when the conviction is clear that acts of prohibition would produce evils far more extensive and much more to be deprecated. So deranged and disordered, or complicate, by the practice, or misfortunes, of a former age, may become the very texture of society ; and so peculiar the relations which as a people we sustain to each other, that an *immediate* and *entire* correction of the evil may be impracticable, and that therefore neither individuals nor society are bound to attempt it. Such a state of things, however, can be no excuse for crime, nor for that indifference or cupidity that would tolerate the evil for ever, or withhold proper effort for its gradual, judicious, and effectual removal.’

‘The supposition which I made, was *only* a supposition,’ said Henry ; ‘the country has been greatly agitated of late by the subject of slavery. It neither seems to me right to interfere with the Southern relations, nor to resort to violence to suppress the liberty of speech.’

‘The acts of illegal violence and shameful outrage which have grown out of the excitement kindled on this subject, in whatever part of the Union, cannot be too strongly deplored, nor too severely censured,’ said Mr. L.

‘Why,’ said Caroline, ‘did not our fathers, when our independence was asserted, and its acknowledgment obtained from the other country, make provision in the Constitution ? for the final emancipation of slaves.’

‘On this subject, Gov. Everett, of Massachusetts, has spoken, and I will give you his words : “It was deemed a point of the highest public policy, by the non-slaveholding States, notwithstanding the existence of slavery in their sister States, to enter with them into the present Union, on the

basis of the constitutional compact. That no Union could have been formed, on any other basis, is a fact of historical notoriety; and it is asserted in terms, by General Hamilton, in the reported debates in the New-York Convention for adopting the Constitution. This compact," Gov. E. continues, "expressly recognizes the existence of slavery; and concedes to the States where it prevails the most important rights and privileges connected with it. Every thing that tends to disturb the relations created by this compact is at war with its spirit; and whatever, by direct and necessary operation, is calculated to excite an insurrection among the slaves, has been held, by highly respectable legal authority, an offence against the peace of the commonwealth, which may be prosecuted as a misdemeanor at common law. Although opinions may differ on this point, it would seem the safer course, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, to imitate the example of our fathers—the Adamses, the Hancocks, and other eminent patriots of the Revolution; who, although fresh from the battles of liberty, and approaching the question as essentially an open one, deemed it nevertheless expedient to enter into a union with our brothers of the slave-holding States, on the principles of forbearance and toleration on this subject."

'It is not strange, Sir, that the South are unwilling that strangers should intermeddle with this part of their domestic concerns. Reasons are obvious to my mind now, which did not present themselves before.'

'We all know with what tenacity mankind are wont to cling to the possession of whatever is called property. Eight hundred millions (for we have to do with fact, not theories in this case) is a vast amount, and in whatever light we may regard the justice of the claim to the kind of property in question, the relinquishment of it would doubtless be regarded as an enormous sacrifice. It has been calculated that putting down the estimate at one-half the lowest value put upon this species of property at the South, that is,



at 250 millions only, instead of 800 millions ; the relinquishment of this amount by about four millions of freemen, would be equivalent to a tax of more than one hundred millions of dollars on the six New-England States ; and divided, it would be upwards of thirty-six millions of dollars for the State of Massachusetts alone ; and four and a half millions of dollars, would, if the amount were assessed, fall upon the city of Boston. If the amount were divided, the whole United States, North and South, agreeing to pay the amount by a general assessment for the indemnity of the slave-holders, which I think would be just, the quota for the city of Boston alone would be nearly one million and eight hundred thousand dollars : and the State of Massachusetts must contribute seventeen millions and a half. Says the gentleman of Boston, the author of ‘ Remarks on Dr. Channing’s Slavery,’ who makes this calculation, “ I have all reasonable faith in the generosity, the spirit and the nobleness of my fellow-citizens, but if it were asked of them to take this immense amount and pour it as a votive gift into the ocean, or gather it and burn it on their lofty hills as a beacon-fire in honor of freedom and to relieve the southern slaves from their bondage, who ventures to believe he would live long enough to see the consummation of so much moral glory ? \* \* \* If here then, where there is such an abhorrence of slavery, where there is so much high principle, where so many think it morally wrong, there would be found some difficulty in obtaining a contribution large enough to purchase ease to our own consciences, by relieving the country of this iniquity, what may be expected in the slave districts, where there is no such feeling, and of whose freemen we ask not to *contribute* merely, but to take upon themselves the whole load—to reduce themselves to want—their families to beggary, and their country to ruin ? ”

‘ Still, *I* hope,’ said Caroline, ‘ that we may live to see the day when our whole country will be ready to engage unitedly and harmoniously in this good work.’

‘I would fain indulge the hope,’ said Mr. L. ‘notwithstanding all that is now most discouraging. We must remember, however, that if slavery is to be brought to an end in our land, in a way that shall be honorable and not destructive of our national existence, it must be by the consent of the South. A dissolution of the Union and civil war, perhaps a servile war also, would be the inevitable consequence of any coercion on the part of the non-slaveholding States.

‘To return to the motives which influence the South—I was going also to mention an idea prevalent at the South, that a portion “of the land is susceptible only of slave cultivation, and that without this kind of labor their fine fields would be desolate.” This idea, whether correct or not, is doubtless one of the obstacles in the way of abolition. Another difficulty is found in the fact that, for the want of sufficient incentives in this country to effort and virtue, the emancipated slave generally becomes a nuisance and pest to society; and general emancipation without colonization would despoil the whites at the South of the land of their fathers, and drive them from it; or in a short time render the South one “great prison house” in a far different sense from what it is at present, if not a scene of butchery, massacre, and blood. But besides these considerations, the South has become extremely sensitive of its dignity and jealous for its alleged rights; and *will not allow* the least interference in respect to this question. They will not suffer dictation or instruction, and they will scarcely listen to reason or allow discussion. Indeed, the South may be considered as having pronounced its decision, that slavery shall not be discussed in any shape, within its borders, except as subject to restrictions which the South may see fit to impose. The reason assigned for this is, that they will not “by any affectation of liberality, endanger their social system.” Claiming to be sovereign and independent States, in respect to this part of their domestic economy, they are fully resolved to resist all encroachments upon their pre-

rogative ; regarding it as wrong for one State, or individuals in that State, to interfere with, or in any way interrupt or endanger the domestic relations of another State, as it would be for a foreign power to interfere in the domestic concerns of our common country. An interference of the latter kind would stir our whole country to indignation. Even the anti-slavery mission of an individual sent out to this country by an association of females in Scotland, was not tolerated ; the non-slaveholding States, as well as the South, were moved at once by the alleged intrusion. With equal disapprobation did we hear the threat of the Irish agitator, and his coadjutors in Parliament, "We will turn to America and *require* emancipation." What, should *we*, believing, as many do, that Ireland is in an enslaved condition, form societies in our country for the establishment of universal liberty, and send agents into the British dominions for the purpose of aiding in efforts at agitation *there* : how would our philanthropy be regarded, I will not say by England, but by the nations ? The same view is taken by the South of any interference in the northern states with their domestic relations. Nay, they go further, and insist that inasmuch as "our constitution was a compromise, in which we agreed that each State should in its own domestic affairs be sovereign and independent," so "it is the highest infraction of all moral principle to violate the obligations which our contract imposes upon us." And with the same view of moral duty, there are many at the North who abhor slavery, and can truly say with Cowper,

"I would not have a slave to till my ground,"

who at the same time unhesitatingly endorse the language of the Boston Reviewer incognito, to whom I have already referred, but all of whose views, in extenso, I should be unwilling to adopt, "In all codes of morality honesty holds the first place, and I deem it dishonest, as it is dishonorable, to do that by indirect means which I am prohibited from

doing openly and avowedly before the world. If insurrection breaks out—if war and its atrocities are the consequence, no drop of the vast torrent of blood that is to flow shall be laid to my account. \* \* I cannot reconcile it to my conscience, while I daily and hourly enjoy the blessings of this republican government, to take back any part of the price that was paid for it.” They consider that the present slaveholders did not originate the system; and that they alone, on whom the accountability rests, must determine, in the sight of God, and in obedience to the dictates of their own consciences, when, and in what way, the system of slavery and all its present evils shall come to an end.

‘The opinion of Daniel Webster, expressed long since in a letter to a gentleman in New-York, and published with his permission, probably expresses the sentiments of the North generally: “In my opinion,” says he, “the domestic slavery of the Southern states is a subject within the exclusive control of the States themselves; and this, I am sure, is the opinion of the North. Congress has no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them in any of the States. This was so resolved by the House of Representatives, when Congress sat in New-York, in 1790, on the report of a committee consisting almost entirely of Northern members; and I do not know an instance of the expression of a different opinion in either house of Congress since. \* \* The servitude of so great a portion of the population of the South is, undoubtedly, regarded at the North as a great evil, moral and political. But it is regarded, nevertheless, as an evil, the remedy of which lies with the legislatures of the South themselves, to be provided and applied according to *their* own sense of policy and duty.” It is indeed a melancholy consideration, that domestic slavery in the United States is so intimately connected with civil society. But we must take the evil as it is; and seek the remedy in that way which is legally and morally right, and which will not bring about a greater evil than that which we seek to redress.’

‘I wonder, Sir, what effect the discussions which are going forward have upon the peace of mind and happiness of the southern slaves; I suppose that some of them are acquainted with the agitations of the times?’

‘The effect of movements at the North which go to endanger the stability of southern institutions, on the *condition* of both the colored free, and the slaves, is seen in the severity of legislative enactments. Mr. Chandler, of the United States Gazette well remarked, that one can scarcely read of these proceedings, without being reminded of the remark (doubtless, ironical remark) of the distinguished but eccentric John Randolph, when some anti-slavery measure was proposed in Congress—“I will hurry home and flog Juba.” The effect is, that as movements are made at the North which are regarded by the South as prejudicial to their interests, they proceed at once to “flog Juba”—in other words, pass laws and keep up an espionage grievously oppressive to the colored people. The immediate effect upon the mind, and consequently upon the peace and enjoyment of the slaves, so far as they are led to reflect on their condition, is far from contributing to either. It is impossible that they should be indifferent to the subject when it is brought before their mind; it is impossible that they should be otherwise than uneasy, discontented, unhappy, inclined to revenge. A Virginia free black has said, in respect to the laws of slavery and those affecting the condition of the free colored people, “these things were never felt or even *known* by us until our northern friends brought their existence before our remembrance.”’

‘But, Pa, is it not a fact,’ said Henry, ‘that, if all in the non-slaveholding States were of one mind in reprobating slavery, and, supposing it proper for them to do so, were disposed to insist that the South shall emancipate their slaves; the slave-holding States are not so much in the minority that it would be possible for the demand to be enforced? I do not imagine that such a case will ever occur;



but a supposition of the kind, and a correct view of the relative strength of the parties, it appears to me is calculated to dissipate every hope of truly benefitting the slave except as we act in concurrence with the views of his master.'

'The slave-holding districts are the fairest and most important portion of our country, if we regard the extent of territory, the fertility of the soil, or the increase of population. It is, of course, destined, we should suppose, to extend its influence and political power in the government of the country. But even now the disparity is not so great between the two divisions of our country that a determined collision would not be most fearful, and in all probability destructive to both. We must never allow ourselves, however, to dwell on such a topic. The thought is too painful—the event, we will hope, can never be. It were a strange infatuation indeed that should lead to it—a strange patriotism, and benevolence, and philanthropy, indeed !

'We will close the present conversation with a few extracts which I will read from an address in the Richmond Enquirer, which the editor of that paper says is, what it purports to be, the production of "a Matron of Eastern Virginia," elicited by discussions at Washington and elsewhere, which she regarded as of a "highly intemperate and pernicious character, entirely subversive of the tranquillity and happiness of society." The extract will serve to show more clearly the views and feelings which prevail at the South. "As a daughter of our eastern Virginia, and therefore most deeply interested in all that involves her interests and prosperity, permit me to entreat gentlemen no longer to discard all prudential considerations, but to pause and calmly reflect that they are compromising the safety of millions by their ill-timed and imprudent discussions. \* \* Shut your eyes no longer, my countrymen—the Union is threatened; and all the blessings it confers, and which our fathers suffered and died to attain, must perish with it. Scorn not the feeble voice of a woman, when she calls on you to awake to



your danger, ere it be for ever too late. We are told that the citizens of the North would arouse our slaves to exert their physical force against us—but we cannot, we will not believe the foul, shocking, unnatural tale. What! have the daughters of the South inflicted such injuries on their northern brethren as to render them objects of their deadly, exterminating hate? Have helpless age, smiling infancy, virgin purity, no claims on the generous, the high-minded, and the brave? Would they introduce the serpents of fear and withering anxiety into the Edens of domestic bliss; bathe our peaceful hearths with blood, and force us to abhor those ties which now unite us as one people, and which we so lately taught our sons to regard as our pride, and the very palladium of our prosperity? \* \* The poor slave himself merits not at their hands the mischief and woe which his mistaken advocates would heap on his devoted head. The northern people are too well acquainted with historical facts, to condemn us for evils which we deprecated as warmly as themselves, but which were ruthlessly imposed on us by the power of Great Britain.” Appealing to the North, she continues, “We deprecate slavery as much as you. We as ardently desire the liberty of the whole human race; but what can we do? The slow hand of time must overcome difficulties now insurmountable. An evil, the growth of ages, cannot be remedied in a day. Our virtuous and enlightened men will doubtless effect much by cautious exertion, if their efforts are not checked by your rash attempts to dictate on a subject of which it is impossible that you can form a correct judgment. Forbear your inflammatory addresses. They but rivet the fetters of the slaves, and render them ten thousand times more galling. You sacrifice his happiness, as well as that of his owner, for, by rendering him an object of suspicion and alarm, you deprive him of the regard, confidence, and I may add with the utmost truth, the affection of his master. You render a being now light-hearted and joyous, moody and wretched—yes, hopelessly wretched.

You wreak on the innocent and helpless, who, had they the will, possess not the power to bid the slave be free from all his imagined wrongs. You agonize gentle bosoms, which glow with Christian charity towards the whole human race, of whatever color they may be. Fearful forebodings mingle with all a mother's deep, imperishable love, as the matron bends over the infant that smiles in her face; and with more shuddering horror she trembles as she gazes on the daughters whose youthful beauty, goodness, and grace, shed the sunshine of joy and hope over the winter of life. I appeal to you as Christians, as patriots, as men, generous, high-minded men, to forbear. By all you hold sacred—by your own feelings for the wives of your bosom and the children of your love, pause and reflect on the mischief and woe you seek to inflict on both the white and colored population of the southern States."



## CONVERSATION XVI.

"A general emancipation of slaves, to be consistent with such a regard to their good, and the public good, as humanity and religion demand, must plainly be the work of time. It must be accomplished by a wise system of moral influence and of proscriptive legislation, and must allow opportunity for a preparatory change of the habits of a whole community."—*President Porter.*

'You have intimated in former conversations,' said Caroline, 'that there is a disposition among good people at the South notwithstanding the power with which their laws

have invested them, to prevent interference on the part of strangers, still to treat their slaves as rational beings, and to give them suitable moral and religious instruction. I wish this fact were more generally known at the North.'

'There is certainly,' said Mr. L. 'a pleasing and commendable spirit exhibited, after all the precautionary provisions of legislative acts, by the Christian community at the South, in respect to the religious instruction of their slaves. I have before me a letter from an eminent clergyman of Virginia, a part of which I will read, since you may from such sources be better able to apprehend the true feeling of Christians at the South, and the actual condition of the slaves:—"To give you an idea of the feeling of the Christian community toward that unfortunate class of people which we have among us, I would refer you to the articles which appeared in the Religious Telegraph, signed, 'Zinzendorf,' and which terminated in passing a resolution in the Synod of Virginia, recommending every church in the State to set apart one of its best qualified members, whose duty it shall be to give religious instruction to the colored people. And I am happy to state, that many enter upon this self-denying, though pleasing duty. The proprietor of Monticello, (Jefferson's seat,) a gentleman of first rate talents, wealthy, and a man of influence entered into this business with all his heart. He enjoyed a very liberal education; but he thought that this was not sufficient to instruct the poor African in the great truths of the gospel. He prepared himself with a theological course, to fit him the better for this responsible duty. It is a pleasing fact, that the first proprietor of Jefferson's seat, after he left it, should be a man of such benevolent and devoted piety. We hope that the public mind is fast preparing for a general emancipation, and that the Christian community will not be remiss in instructing and preparing the colored people for the colony. The redeeming spirit is amongst us, I hope, and will not rest till every slave shall be restored to the land of their fathers, and

this State placed upon a footing with the other happy States of our Union, who know not the curses of slavery."

'I have also before me a letter from Georgia, written by a distinguished gentleman to his friend, on the same subject, which reads as follows: "With regard to your inquiries about the religious instruction of the negroes of the South, I would state, that whilst there is far less interest on this subject among slave-holders than there should be, still we have much reason to be grateful for what is doing, and for what in prospect may be done. My knowledge on this subject is confined to Georgia and South Carolina; you must apply to other gentlemen for information about other parts of the southern country. I visited Bryan county, Georgia, for the exclusive purpose of seeing what was doing there for the negroes. On one plantation I found the slaves far more improved, both as regards their temporal comforts, and their religious instruction, than I had expected to see. The number of negroes on this plantation is, I believe, about two hundred. They live in framed houses, raised above the ground—spacious and in every way comfortable, and calculated to promote health. The negroes were uniformly clad in a very decent and comfortable way. There is a chapel on the place where the master meets the adults every night at the ringing of the bell. Reading a portion of Scripture, and explaining it, singing, and prayer, constitute the regular exercises of every night in the week. On the Sabbath they have different and more protracted exercises. A day-school is taught by two young ladies—embracing all the children under twelve or fifteen years of age. The instruction in this and other schools in the county, is *oral*, of course; but it was gratifying to see how great an amount of knowledge the children had acquired in a few months. A Presbyterian minister of Philadelphia was with me, and he said, in unqualified terms, that he had visited no infant schools at the North better conducted. This one of which I speak, is on the infant-school system. Schools on the same plan are now

established on the several other plantations in the same county. And I think I may say there is a very general interest on this subject. A large portion of the planters either have, or contemplate building churches on their premises, and employing chaplains to preach to their slaves. Several I could mention who, though they are not pious themselves, have done this already, from what they have seen of the beneficial influence of religious instruction on other plantations. Ministers of all denominations begin to awake to their duty and responsibility on this subject. Many of them are now devoting themselves *wholly* to this portion of our community; and it is to be hoped that every Christian master will soon be brought to an enlightened sense of duty. And *if we are allowed to prosecute this work without indiscreet interference on the part of our northern brethren*, I feel assured that we shall see the negroes *far more improved*, in a short time, than they are at present."

'Of the religious condition of the slaves in South Carolina, a clergyman in that State writes: "I am able from authentic information to say, that of the *five hundred and eighty thousand*, which compose the entire population of this State, about *sixty-seven thousand* are members in the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian churches. Of these communicants more than *forty thousand* are slaves. The whole slave population is 315,000. It is easily seen, therefore, that of the white population about *one-seventh* are church members. It is proper these facts should come into the estimate of the religious condition and prospects of our slaves. In New-England there are *twenty thousand*, and in the free states a *hundred and twenty thousand* blacks. I should be glad to see a comparison of *their* religious condition with that of our slaves in this one item. Do you believe that *one-twentieth* of them are communicants? And do you believe that in New-England, as *here*, there is a *larger proportion* of black than white communicants? And what is doing *there* to improve the moral condition of the

blacks? The religious denominations which embrace these forty thousand black members are engaged earnestly, if not to the extent of their ability, to bring the saving blessings of the gospel to the souls of all these 'heathen among ourselves.' And are you not ready to say:—'Go on, my brethren, and may God bless you. We would rejoice to help you if we could: but if we *cannot* HELP YOU, we will LET YOU ALONE.'"

'At the convention of the diocese of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina, as early as 1834, a committee was appointed to take into consideration, and report upon the subject of the religious instruction of the blacks, at the next convention. This was accordingly done, and the Bishop was requested to address a pastoral letter to the diocese, embracing so much of the report of the committee as he might deem expedient. In compliance with this request, a pastoral letter from Bishop Bowen was published, containing much valuable and appropriate counsel in relation to the subject, urging attention to the religious instruction of slaves as an imperative duty of every master, and uniting with the committee of the convention in recommending measures for its due performance. The letter says, the *persons* by whom the work of instruction should be undertaken are, "1st. The clergy with their assistants in Sunday schools. 2. Lay catechists usefully employed in the primitive ages of the church, and now rendered absolutely necessary by the small number of clergy. 3. The proprietors of slaves or their agents or overseers, with the assistance of their families. The method recommended is:—1. The establishment of Sunday schools, with lectures on portions of Scriptures for adults, together with classes of candidates for baptism and the Lord's Supper, to be conducted by the minister. 2. The employment of missionaries for the colored population. One of the clergy, the committee trusts, is as 'usefully as he is honorably employed' in this way, on the plantations of Messrs. Clarkson, on the Wateree, and the hope is expressed that the time is not



far distant 'when the Lord will put it into the hearts of many of our younger clergy to devote themselves to this interesting work.' 3. The proprietors of slaves are urged to personal labors for their spiritual improvement; and each one is recommended, in relation to the measures proposed, to 'ask himself, before God, *is not this my duty?* And then let him pursue it, convinced that, however great his discouragement may be at first, by the blessing of God, great good must ultimately result.' In the State of South Carolina it is estimated that there are thirty thousand communicants belonging to the slave population. 'Our clergy,' says a zealous, faithful, and highly respectable clergyman, 'generally pay a particular attention to the black congregations. Many of them give the entire afternoon of the Sabbath to them. Sunday schools among them are almost universally organized.' It is also well known that in religious families, the instruction of the slaves is an object of general solicitude. It is by no means unusual for individual planters, or two or more in connexion, to support a chaplain for the exclusive benefit of their colored people."

'I might multiply proofs of a disposition now prevailing extensively at the South in all the States to give to the slaves religious instruction, and all practicable religious privileges. I think the general feeling on this subject is greatly misapprehended in the non-slaveholding States. The evils of slavery are great, but they ought not to be magnified either by representing the slaves as deprived of all religious privileges, or their masters as destitute of Christian benevolence and the feelings of humanity. The South are lamentably deficient in this point after all; but I wish as great attention were paid to the souls of the poor blacks in every free State, as they receive in the instances to which we have referred at the South.'

'I have understood, Sir, that an effect of colonization, since Liberia is becoming better known as the home of the free, is an increasing disposition and desire on the part of

slave-holders to emancipate their slaves, that they may find an asylum in that land of freedom.

‘Yes; within one year more than 2,000 slaves were offered the Colonization Society from five different States, with the desire expressed on the part of both master and slave, for a passage to Liberia. As colonization gains ground, the freedom of untold thousands, it is to be hoped, will be secured, and Africa gladdened yet more and more with the light of civilization and Christianity.’

‘It appears morally certain,’ said H. ‘that the bondage to which Africans have been subjected, by being torn away from Africa, and the consequent condition of many of their descendants, will be overruled, by a wonder-working Providence, to the christianizing and salvation of not a few. There is this fact, at least, to abate the painful sensations which the thought of slavery occasions.’

‘You remind me,’ said Mr. L. ‘of an anecdote which the Rev. Mr. Brown, of St. Petersburg, related, in the course of his speech at the anniversary in Boston of the Massachusetts Missionary Society. I will endeavour to repeat it, although I cannot give it the interest and effect produced by his recital: “Among a number of slaves who had been re-captured by a British ship, and sent into Sierra Leone, was a little boy named Tom, who had by the slavers been separated from his father and mother, and who became an object of the particular regard of the missionaries at that station. One day, after the hour of instruction had passed, the voice of this little boy was overheard in a retired place, which one of the missionaries happened to pass. The missionary at first thought Tom to be in dispute with some of his companions, but on listening was surprised and overjoyed to find him earnestly engaged in prayer. To attempt to give the precise language of his broken petition, might make it ridiculous; but the following is the substance of it, as related by the missionary, as nearly as can be recollected:—‘O God, me glad de wicked man take me; me glad

King George's big ship take de wicked man : me glad me brought here, where de missionary learn me to know God, and de way to heaven. O God, me have one great favor to ask. Me pray God send more wicked man to take my fader and muder. Me pray God send more King George's big ship to take de wicked man and bring my fader and muder here, so dey may learn de way to heaven, and fader, muder, and Tom all go to heaven togeder.' A few days afterwards Tom was seen upon the shore, anxiously gazing upon the boundless ocean. On being questioned as to his object, he said, 'Me see if God hear prayer; me pray God send my fader and muder here; me see if God answer Tom's prayer.' Day after day, full of faith and hope, Tom paid a visit to the sea side. Long he waited for an answer to his prayer of faith, and his father and mother came not. Yet Tom confided in the faithfulness of the God whom the missionary had taught him to know and love, till one day, when many months had expired, he came running to the missionary, clapping his hands, and exclaiming in an extacy of joy, 'God answer prayer—Christ hear Tom's prayer—de big ship coming to bring my fader and muder; O Tom glad God hear his prayer.' A British ship had, strange as it may seem, made its appearance, and soon after landed a party of slaves re-captured from the 'wicked man,' among whom was Tom's father and mother."

'God can indeed bring good out of evil,' said C. 'and make the wrath of man to praise him. I have understood, Pa, that the colony at Sierra Leone, although not so favorably situated as that in Liberia, is prosperous; and that the church mission at Sierra Leone has been greatly blessed.'

Mr. L. replied, 'If I recollect, the number of communicants at the church missions in Sierra Leone so long ago as 1836, was between 400 and 500; attendants on public worship, 3,000; day scholars, 1,200. The divine favor, in an increasing degree, appears to be vouchsafed to the missiona-

ries. It was also said in 1836 that the Wesleyans penetrated 300 miles up the Gambia, and established a mission in the centre of the Mandingo and Foulah tribes. Number of members "in society," about 800.'

'I believe, Sir,' said Henry, 'that the plan of spreading the gospel by the establishment of Christian colonies in heathen lands, is beginning to be thought much of? It appears to me that the success of the missions to Africa will have the effect to recommend it greatly.'

Said Mr. L. 'the Rev. Mr. Abeel, missionary to China, has remarked, "that the opinion is gaining rapid currency, especially among foreign missionaries, that *colonies, Christian colonies*, are demanded in the enterprise of evangelizing the heathen. Possessed of the proper spirit, their influence is incalculable. The power of a righteous and holy example, irrespective of all other benefits, would give to communities of this kind the relative importance of a sun to the dark spots on which their light would fall. They would present to the heathen, in an embodied form, the lovely and attractive feature of Christianity. They would exemplify the practicability of those lessons which the gospel inculcates, and show their incomparable superiority over all their own tenets and practices. The arts and customs of civilized life could in this manner be most advantageously introduced. All the useful trades and occupations among us could be employed for the benefit both of the colonist and of those to whose best interests they had devoted themselves. Added to these, and perhaps superior to them all, would be the direct modes of bringing truth in contact with the minds of the heathen, which the members of such colonies might employ, and which might be multiplied in proportion to the number of adult colonists. Oral teaching—the distribution of books—the instruction of the young in seminaries of every variety—from the infant school through all the intermediate departments—to the colleges and even theological institutions, would employ all the time of some, and the

leisure hours of others, to the greatest advantage. One ordained missionary could keep a hundred assistants engaged, though their labors were the most signally blessed. That which engrosses the missionary is the simple elementary instruction in Christianity, which any layman could perform with equal propriety and effect. Formal preaching, and the administration of the sacraments requires but one man to a station. If the children of such colonists were sanctified to the great work in which all around them were employed, their services would be incalculable. The language would come to them by intuition and in its perfection.”

‘I suppose, Sir,’ said H., ‘that there is no hope of the evangelizing of Africa except by colonization?’

‘No,’ said Mr. L. ‘the situation of Africa is peculiar. The necessity of missionary operations through the aid of colonies, Mr. Pinney, late Governor of Liberia, who went out as a missionary, has well illustrated in the following language: “In view of the melancholy state of the African race, my mind was directed to the importance of lifting the standard of Christianity in the heart of that benighted land, and of endeavoring thus to stay the desolating progress of Mohammedanism among the countless millions of her children. I went to Africa, and while waiting at the colony, such a view was presented to my mind of the obstacles now existing to the progress of a missionary in the interior, as well as of the great benefit the cause of future missions might derive from such a colony on the coast, as a gate of entrance, and a place of protection, that I became satisfied the best and wisest course would be to have our missions commenced around the colony, among those of the neighboring tribes who were friendly to the new comers on their continent. I am aware that God has all power, that should he send men among hungry and ravenous lions, as he sent Daniel, he can now, as he did then, close their mouths, so that they shall not touch his prophets to do them harm. I will admit, further, that missionaries might, if possessed of



the dove-like spirit of the gospel, make their way unharmed through the most savage tribes; and might live in safety among them, yet this is not the case in Africa. The missionary among the native tribes may not inaptly be compared to a traveller who lies down to sleep beneath a tree with a hornet's nest above him. The hornets will not assail him. He might sleep there all the year without being annoyed by them. But let some mischievous boys pass by and attack the nest with stones and clubs, can he sleep in safety then? No: the hornets will confound him with their enemies, and will set upon him and sting him to death. Just so a missionary, or a company of missionaries, going alone among the African tribes, might remain there without harm or danger. But let the slave-trader come, and the state of things will be soon changed. He will poison the minds of the natives with suspicion, and in a little while they will be persuaded that the missionaries are their worst enemies, and as such will destroy them. How was it with Lander? He was received and treated in the most friendly and hospitable manner by the tribes in the interior, and so continued to be treated wherever he came, until he had approached within about twenty or twenty-five miles of the sea coast. There he met the influence of the traders; and he soon found the character of the natives entirely changed; and the cause was soon manifest enough, in the presence of an hundred slave ships on the coast. Here the same spirit, ever hostile, and ever on the watch, will present obstacles to the progress and success of the missionary, unless some visible power shall be established for his protection. Such a power is to be found at the colony, and it will increase and extend its influence as the colony shall become more flourishing and better known.”\*

\* The history of missionary efforts in Western Africa shows that all attempts, except by colonies, have been unsuccessful. Roman Catholic missionaries labored 241 years, and every vestage of their influence has been gone for many generations. The Moravians,



‘Christian colonies,’ Mr. L. continued, ‘are of great advantage in the work of evangelizing the benighted, under any circumstances; especially when they are of the same race with those whose benefit is sought. Let me quote once again from Mr. Pinney. I read from his recent address in New-York, as reported for the New-York Observer: “The colony planted on the shores of Africa is calculated to prove a great benefit to the natives of that continent, even should they never obtain the blessings of the gospel; but that colony is calculated to be the great instrument, in the hand of Divine

beginning in 1736, toiled for 34 years, making five attempts, and effected nothing. One English attempt at Bulam Island, in 1792, was abandoned in 2 years, with the loss of 100 lives. A mission to the Foulahs, from England, in 1795, returned unsuccessful. The London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow Society, commenced 3 stations in 1797, which were extinct in 3 years. The Church missionary Society sent out its first missionaries in 1804, but was four years before they could find a place out of the Colony of Sierra Leone where they could commence their labors. They attempted ten stations. But the hostility of the natives, who preferred the slave traders to them, drove the missionaries from nine of them, and forced them to take refuge in Sierra Leone, the only place where they could labor with safety and with hope. The tenth station, at Goree, was also abandoned.

But while we mourn over these failures in attempts to do good to tropical Africa, it is a source of the most profound gratitude to have the facts placed authentically before the world, that every attempt at colonizing Africa *with colored persons, and every missionary effort connected with the Colonies, either of England or America, have been successful.*

These facts prove, conclusively, that while other lands may be approached and blessed by other methods, the only hope for Africa appears to be in Colonization by persons of color. This is the only star of promise which kindles its light on her dark horizon. It is the only apparent means of her salvation.

After the presentation of such an array of facts, extending over a period of *four centuries*, may we not claim that the question is decided—that the facts of the case preclude all possibility of reasonable doubt—that *the combined effort of Colonization and missions is proved to be an ineffectual means, and is the only known means of converting and civilizing Africa.*

Providence, in opening the way for the introduction of the gospel into that continent; and as such I uphold it. I do think that, in addition to all the incidental good it has effected, it will be the chief means of commencing and sustaining the work of African missions. Our great object, beyond and over and above all incidental and lesser good, is to convert the population of the African continent. We seek to strike the manacles off from the millions of her slaves, and I believe this colony is the means ordained of God to do it. The great difficulty, thus far, in the progress of Christian missions, has been to adapt the men to the work. You may take the ablest student from your theological seminary, and there let him spend two years in acquiring something of the language of the country; and when you have done, he is still a stranger and a foreigner. He cannot feel with the native inhabitants. He is not one of them: and nothing can make him like them. But, if it were otherwise, there is another difficulty in the way; you cannot get enough men for the work. In Bombay the missionaries labored for twenty years and scarce any conversions were effected; and why? the missionaries not being sufficiently numerous, had to employ Jews and Mohammedans as teachers in their schools. These men taught, indeed, the lessons they were employed to teach; but they taught the children, at the same time, that all they learned was nothing but lies. But in Africa we shall soon be freed from both these difficulties. Let the work of colonization go on, and be blessed of heaven to prosper as it has done thus far, and in the course of twenty years we shall have there 50,000 pious men from the United States. With an ordinary blessing, we shall be able soon to send forth *ten thousand Christian missionaries*, who will go to 10,000 African villages, which will be prepared, willing, and anxious to receive them. Noble, glorious prospect! We have the material to form the workmen, and we have people apt, and easy, comparatively, to be worked upon. In most other heathen countries the mis-

sionary has to meet and to encounter not only the opposition of the carnal heart, but ancient institutions fortified by laws and depraved custom, and guarded on every side by an interested, depraved and artful priesthood. In China he meets with iron bars across his way, with all the strength of the government openly against him. In Hindostan he meets all the force of caste, and all the mighty influence of an ancient prescriptive idolatry, which is identified with all the habits of life. But in Africa it is not so. The missionary must, indeed, meet the carnal heart: but that is all he has to meet. The African people have no idolatry to be given up. They acknowledge one God, though they do not know who or what or where he is; and they do not worship him save as a principle of evil which it is their interest to propitiate. With this view they make an occasional offering, and purchase various charms and amulets as preservatives against evil. But they never think of such a thing as worshipping an idol. This very destitution of all system of religion pre-occupying their mind, opens, at once, a wide door for missionary effort. And the colony is the very source from which we may expect a supply of missionaries. It is calculated to exert a mighty influence for good."'

## CONVERSATION XVII.

" 'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower  
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume ;  
And we are weeds without it. All constraint,  
Except what wisdom lays on evil men,  
Is evil ; hurts the faculties ; impedes  
Their progress in the road of science ; blinds  
The eye-sight of discovery : and begets  
In those who suffer it, a sordid mind,  
Bestial, a meagre intellect, unfit  
To be the tenant of man's noble form."—*Cowper.*

‘ AFTER all, Pa, it appears to me,’ said Henry, ‘ that it is more than freedom that is necessary to raise the African in the scale of being, and make him respected and happy. How many negroes there are in this country that are free and yet are quite as degraded as the slaves ! Emancipation, it seems to me, is but a small part of the duty to which humanity call us.’

‘ Yes, Pa,’ said Caroline, ‘ I have thought that the blacks, even at the North, are generally very degraded and miserable ; and I have been told that the free blacks at the South are more grovelling and abandoned in their morals than the slaves.’

‘ It is true, my children, that whilst there are in the United States 500,000 persons of African origin who have the name of being free, they are generally wretched. But we should remember that it is because invincible prejudice is continually pressing them down, and paralyzing all the energies of their nature. There are circumstances which seem to check and utterly forbid, in most cases, every rising emotion of ambition. They have, in truth, neither home, country, or motive to effort. Let the white man be

similarly situated, generation after generation growing up in ignorance and disgrace; and see if, in the lapse of time, he and his descendants are not wretched, their thoughts grovelling, and morals abandoned.'

'Why, as to that,' said H. 'I do not think the blacks are more degraded than many whites. I have heard it remarked, that at the South even the slaves consider it a degradation to associate with the lowest class of whites.'

'It has been said that, at the South, there are three great classes—the respectable whites, the negroes, and the ignorant, or vicious and degraded whites; the last being lowest in the scale of respectability and moral worth. At the South, the line of demarkation is more clearly drawn between the respectable and the degraded, than in the northern States. The white man who, at the South, cannot find a comfortable support, and maintain a respectable standing in society, is generally obnoxious to the suspicion of other causes of poverty and degradation than misfortune; whilst there is far greater equality than with us, among the respectable portion of the community.

'To return to your remark about the unhappy condition of the free blacks. We admit that it is correct; but let me ask if it is not strange that the blacks are not even more degraded than they are. I do not think that either free or slave will suffer in comparison with the whites, allowing for all the circumstances which have led to the present condition of the blacks. The free, however, it must be confessed, are generally more sunken to a level with the brute, than the slave. They are, as a whole, exceeding corrupt, depraved, and abandoned. There are many honorable exceptions among them, and it is often a pleasure which I enjoy of bearing testimony to these exceptions; but the vicious and degraded habits and propensities of this class are known to every man of attentive observation.

"The characters of men for active industry, enterprise, and external morality, to say the least, always depend, more

than is generally supposed, upon the circumstances in which they are placed. Among the causes which, probably, operate most powerfully on the character, is early encouragement. The child who is taught to expect and attempt great things, is most likely to imbibe a generous spirit of enterprise. It is the encouragement, the hope of attaining to some degree of excellence or measure of prosperity, which is wont to develope genius and make the man. But what hopes are before the minds of the children of our colored population, as motives to aim at an elevated standing in society? What honorable employment to which the genius might happen to be suited, can be promised? To what circle of friendship and respectability whose cultivated minds and purity of morals may operate as a stimulus, can the children of a colored skin be introduced? Can the parents of those children, affording powerful motives in their own success and example, point to the successful merchant, the distinguished statesman, the eminent scholar, or physician, or divine, and say, you have the prospect of rising, with equal industry and merit, to a level with those? Alas! they must, at best, be hewers of wood and drawers of water. The bar, the pulpit, the legislative hall, the circles of refinement, and respectability, and honor, are shut to them, by that which is irresistible—the force of public sentiment. They are denied, by invincible prejudice, the advantages of other freemen, and no talents however great, no piety however pure and devoted, no patriotism however ardent, can lift them above this cruel fate. They hear the accents, they behold the triumphs, of liberty; but they cannot enjoy it as do we. In all the walks of life, in every society, on every path which lies before others to honor and fame and glory, a moral incubus pursues and fastens upon them. A great man among ourselves, has said, “Their condition is worse than that of the fabled Tantalus, who never could grasp the fruits and water which seemed within his reach. And when they die,



‘Memory o’er their tomb no trophies raises.’”

‘Their degradation is the natural consequence of their unfortunate situation, and not the result of any inherent depravity in their natural constitution, or of deficiency of mental faculties. They are as capable, I verily believe, (and I hope that by observation and by reading, if not by our conversation, this conviction will be fastened on your mind,) of the finest sensibilities as we are; as capable of appreciating and enjoying the endearing relations and blessings of life; as capable of self-government, and eminent attainments in knowledge, usefulness, piety, and respectability. But do what they will, there is here, comparatively, only one prospect before them. This is true in respect to the *free* negro, and it cannot be supposed to be otherwise in respect to the slave.’

‘It seems to me that we can hardly hope, under such circumstances, that they will ever be, in this country, what they should desire to be, and aspire after. And this is the reason, I suppose, why so many who appear to feel for their unhappy condition, are in favor of their colonizing in Africa?’

‘It is for this reason, and also for others in connexion—the benefits that will result to Africa from such an enterprise, and the best interests of our own country—that African colonization is warmly advocated by many. The object is thought to have powerful claims to our best and warmest wishes, and untiring efforts, whether we consult the best interests of the free blacks, the slaves, the whites, or the many millions scattered over the dark continent of Africa.’

‘I do not see why they should desire, under such circumstances, to remain, or why any should oppose their location on a more genial soil. Why should they not wish to go to the country of their forefathers?’

‘I am by no means a party man, in respect to this subject, and I hope not any subject; but I acknowledge that COLONIZATION has claims to my high regard and best desires

for its success and prosperity. There is much need, doubtless, of that wisdom which God imparts to them that seek it, to direct in this matter, for great interests are involved, and the question is exceeding complicate in its bearings. There is need also of a spirit of meekness, and kindness, and forbearance, in its discussion.'

'You feel confident then, Pa, that the blacks, if colonized, will do well in their fathers' native land?'

'I can have no reasonable doubt on this subject. Place them where they may call the land their own, where, to use the language of a distinguished and eloquent statesman of another country, "they will stand redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled by the mighty genius of universal emancipation," and they will commence a new life. Many who were fully sensible to the humiliation of their condition here, are at this moment worthy and independent citizens in the country of their forefathers. It seems cruel that remaining in this country, they are destined to be for ever proscribed and debased by our prejudices; and yet, for all that we can foresee, such must be the consequence unless public sentiment undergoes an entire change. Whilst at the South the African is held in physical bondage; in all our country, prejudice consigns him to a moral debasement, by which he cannot but feel that he is deeply injured. The prejudice against the color of the African which appears to exist in the breasts of the whites in this country generally, is such as nothing short of divine power can remove. How far this difference between ourselves and the blacks should influence our intercourse with them in political life or in respect to the sociabilities of the friendly circle, I shall not here assert. I have my own views on this subject.

'Some great and good men,' said Mr. L. 'have gone to wide extremes on this question. In the view of some, a colored skin attaches an ignominy which I cannot but feel is unjust; others are severe in their reproaches, I may almost say, anathemas, against those who indulge in any hesitancy.

touching the fullest expression of equality and unrestricted intercourse. Perhaps, were I to express them, they would suit neither extreme; and, it is even possible that I might be charged by some, with cherishing unjustifiable and wicked prejudices. It is a painful subject. If we refer to the Scriptures, a diversity of sentiment remains even among good people, for they differ in their interpretations and constructions of duty.'

'I know,' said C. 'that I have what are called *prejudices*, and still I think I am sincerely disposed to befriend the cause of the oppressed negro. Some views have been imputed to some friends of Africans, at which my mind recoils—and this I *suppose* is what is denominated prejudice. Dr. Philip, the able and distinguished missionary in South Africa, of the London Missionary Society, in a letter to a benevolent association of students at the Princeton Theological Seminary, says, "It gives us a frightful view of human nature, that the injuries we have done to that race of men, should be the ground of our hatred against them; and that that hatred should be evident in proportion to the cruelty and injustice they have suffered at our hands." \* \* \* "As our children, it is hoped," he continues, "will be more innocent of the crimes committed against Africa, than we are, so we hope they will cherish towards Africa a more kindly feeling than we. There was no prejudice against color when Egypt was the cradle of literature and science, nor in the days when the Grecian and Roman Republics were in their glory; and these *prejudices* will, most certainly, pass away, as the principles of the gospel prevail."

'I believe the same prejudice does not exist, in the same degree, in other countries, does it, Pa?'

'It is a singular fact that we republicans are, in this matter, far more exclusive in our feelings than our monarchical neighbors. In England, it is common to see respectable and genteel people, open their pews when a black stranger enters the church; and, at hotels, nobody thinks it a degradation

to have a colored traveller sit at the same table. I have heard a well-authenticated anecdote, which illustrates the different state of feeling in the two countries on this subject. "A wealthy American citizen was residing in London for a season, at the time the famous Prince Saunders was there.\* The London breakfast hour is very late; and Mr. Saunders happened to call on the American while his family were taking their morning repast. Politeness and native good feelings prompted the good lady to ask their guest to take a cup of coffee; but then, the prejudices of society—how *could* she get over them? True, he was a gentleman in character, manners, and dress—but he had a black skin, and how could she sit at the same table with him! His skin being black, it was altogether out of the question, although it is possible a black character is not always so great a difficulty in the way of asking a man to eat with one! So the lady sipped her coffee, and Prince Saunders sat at the window, occasionally speaking in reply to the conversation addressed to him. At last, all others having retired from the breakfast table, the lady, with an affected air of sudden recollection, said, 'I forgot to ask if you had breakfasted, Mr. Saunders; won't you allow me to give you a cup of coffee?' 'I thank you, Madam,' was the reply, with a dignified bow, '*I am engaged to breakfast with the Prince Regent this morning.*'"

\* Saunders received a liberal education in New England, and kept a school for some time in Boston. From thence he went to St. Domingo professedly to promote the cause of education in that island. He afterwards made his voyage to England to further the same object, and was received by the friends of African improvement with the most flattering courtesy. In a speech before the managers of the British and Foreign Bible Society, he gave an interesting account of St. Domingo, and his speech was much applauded; he is said to have spoken with much propriety of language and good sense.—*Griffin's Plea for Africa.*

## CONVERSATION XVIII.

“It is not easy to discern any object to which the pecuniary resources of the Union can be applied, of greater importance to the national security and welfare, than to provide for the removal, in a manner consistent with the rights and interests of the several States, of the free colored population within their limits.”—*Gen. Mercer.*

‘In our last conversation we noticed the general degradation of blacks in this country. The circumstances that there are so few blacks that, with their freedom, avoid poverty and vice, nobly resisting the natural tendency of their condition, has led some to suppose that however undesirable in itself slavery may be, the blacks generally gain little, and in most instances, are great losers, by emancipation! It has been asserted that, of free blacks collected in our cities and large towns, a great portion are found in abodes of wretchedness and vice, and become tenants of poor-houses and prisons. As a proof of the tendency of their condition, the following striking facts among others, found in the First Annual Report of the Prison Discipline Society may be mentioned: In Massachusetts, where the colored population is small, being less than 7,000 souls, (only  $\frac{1}{41}$  part of the whole population,) about  $\frac{1}{8}$  part of the whole number of convicts in the state prison are blacks. In Connecticut,  $\frac{1}{34}$  part of the population is colored, and  $\frac{1}{3}$  part of the convicts. In New-York,  $\frac{1}{33}$  part are blacks;  $\frac{1}{4}$  part of the convicts in the city state prison are blacks. In New Jersey, the proportion is  $\frac{1}{13}$  colored; and of the convicts  $\frac{1}{3}$ . In Pennsylvania,  $\frac{1}{34}$  part of a population of more than a million souls, is colored; and more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  part of the convicts are black. We might pursue these illustrations of the degradation of the free blacks

in the non-slaveholding States, but it is unnecessary. Suffice it to say, it appears from these statements, that about *one quarter* part of all the expense incurred by these States for the support of their institutions for criminals is for *colored* convicts. The bill of expense in three of these states for the support of colored convicts for the specified number of years preceeding the report from which this schedule is made, was in Massachusetts, 10 years, \$17,734; Connecticut, 15 years, \$37,166; and New-York, in one prison, 27 years, \$109,166, making in all, \$164,066. And this sum was expended, in an average of less than eighteen years, on convicts from among a population of only 54,000 colored persons. References to the expenses for the maintenance of paupers, in the non-slaveholding states, would give a similar result.

‘Another consideration, and one of great weight with our Southern brethren, in leading them to deprecate the existence and increase of colored population in their midst, is the contaminating influence which this class spread among the poor and degraded about them. Prostrate and wretched themselves, through the peculiarity of their almost hopeless circumstances, they are a source of envy and restless anxiety to the slave, who, seeing them free from domestic restraint, and witnessing the facilities with which they are enabled to indulge their various propensities, is tempted, and corrupted, and often ruined by the contagious influence. Hence some of the severest provisions of the law, and the most cruel restraints to which slavery is subjected—and hence, too, the early discouragement, and, of late years, the absolute prohibition of emancipation except under severe restrictions.

‘I recollect,’ said C. ‘having being very much shocked some time since at the remark of Gen. H. that “it would have been better for the free blacks had they been kept in bondage, where the opportunity and the inducements to vice would not have been so great.” I did not at the time appreciate the remark.’



‘Such, my daughter, is the opinion of many, who I am sure are no advocates for slavery, and who have made sacrifices to their good feelings towards the African, both slave and free. “I am clear,” says a distinguished Virginian, who feels a deep interest in the welfare of our colored population, “that whether we consider it with reference to the welfare of the state, or the happiness of the blacks, it were better to leave them in chains, than to liberate them to receive *such* freedom as they enjoy.”’

‘The condition of slaves themselves, I suppose, would be much ameliorated by the removal of those that are freed, and I should suppose that no one can doubt that our free black population may find themselves much more favorably located in a community by themselves.’

‘There can be no doubt that colonization has a tendency to ameliorate the condition of the slave; and that it is well calculated to hasten the time when all shall go free who are now oppressed. It has long been a source of regret among many discerning, well-informed, and Christian people, to my own knowledge, that they cannot free their slaves without adding to their wretchedness, and throwing, as it were, loose on the community, so many materials to be manufactured into every form of indolence, degradation and vice.’

‘I suppose,’ said Henry, ‘that if the immediate emancipation of the whole slave population were to be effected, the situation of the whites at the South would be very far from enviable?’

‘It is thought by the South, and by many at the North,’ said Mr. L. ‘that immediate emancipation would render it necessary for the whites to exterminate the blacks, or abandon the Southern soil. The late abolition of slavery in the West India colonies is pleaded as a refutation of this idea; but those who are best qualified to judge, assert that the emancipation of slaves upon the West India estates, is a very different thing from the immediate emancipation of two millions of slaves in the southern country; and that, without

raising the question of the ultimate effect upon the whites in the West Indies, the banishment of the blacks, or the expatriation or annihilation of the whites from the South would be the necessary consequence of immediate and universal emancipation here.

‘The duty of immediate emancipation,’ said Caroline, ‘would be very plain, I suppose, if the continuance of the system is wrong under *any* circumstances. The abolitionists, I believe, view slavery in all cases, as a *sin*—a “malum in se,” I think they express it; and they suppose it is hardly proper, and somewhat inconsistent, to advise leaving off sin *gradually*, as convenience dictates.’

‘The Rev. Dr. Fisk, President of the Methodist University in Middletown,’ said Mr. L. ‘once illustrated the consequence of carrying out the views of our abolitionist brethren, by the following anecdote: “The eccentric Lorenzo Dow, had by building a milldam across a stream flooded his neighbor’s grounds above the dam. They commenced a suit against him, and obtained a verdict in their favor, on the principle that he was invading their rights. This verdict convinced Lorenzo that every moment he kept the water in its present position he was guilty of a legal sin: and on the ground that every man should *quit sinning immediately*, he at once became a convert to the doctrine of immediate abolition. He accordingly went to work and forthwith abolished (or demolished) his milldam. The *immediate* consequence of letting off so large a quantity of water at once, was the deluging of the country below, and a great destruction of property. And Lorenzo was taught by a second prosecution and assessment of damages, that his *immediate abolition* had led him into a *greater sin* than he was guilty of before.’

‘We have already noticed,’ Mr. L. continued, ‘the condition of the free black population in several of the most highly favored States in the Union. Let me advert to a few other facts: In the State of Virginia the free colored people are not less than 38,000; and yet of this number, not 200

are proprietors of land ! Again, look at their unwelcome reception wherever they go, among the whites ; and consider the fact that their presence is regarded as an evil wherever they are. To some States they are prevented from going, by enactments which expose them to a forfeiture of their freedom if they should dare to set foot upon the soil. Louisiana, some time since, required all free persons of color, who had removed to the State since the year 1825, to leave it. Thousands who had taken refuge in Ohio, driven out from that State, sought a home in Canada ; but the result is that the Canadians, in their turn, threaten their expulsion. They are laid under restrictions, which cannot but be exceedingly painful, in most of the States both North and South ; and in none do they enjoy any thing much better than a mere nominal freedom. Various expedients are resorted to by the State legislatures to free themselves from a free colored population, by disabilities and other embarrassments. Every State seems to cherish a disposition to be free from a free black population.\* The South casts them off : the North has no place for them : the West pushes them away : Canada expels them : and where shall they go ? What shall they do ? They are here isolated ; have no home of their own ; no community of their own ; no country of their own ; no government of their own ; no system whatever, intellectual or moral, in which their individual existence forms a part of the machinery : but every cheerful hope seems crushed. They are, I was going to say, dislocated from humanity.

\* The project for a colony upon our own borders has often been thought of, and even the Legislature of Virginia made some advances, at the time of the cession of Louisiana to the United States, to obtain a territory for free colored people there. Objections, however, of a serious nature, and probably insuperable, seem always to meet every plan of this kind. Instead of a State, it has been said, such colony, especially in case of general emancipation, would soon be a nation. In 25 years the population of the colored would be nearly 6,000,000,—in 55 years a nation of more than 14,000,000. It is thought that it is better and safer that they should remain *among* us, than be collected in masses *near* us.

The free people of color in Baltimore, seem to have taken a correct but painful view of this subject, in a memorial which is now before me: they say, to the citizens of Baltimore, " We have hitherto beheld, in silence, but with intense interest, the efforts of the wise and philanthropic in our behalf. If it became us to be silent, it became us also to feel the liveliest anxiety and gratitude. The time has now arrived, as we believe, in which your work and our happiness may be promoted by the expression of our opinions. We reside among you, and are yet strangers; natives, and yet not citizens; surrounded by the freest people and most republican institutions in the world, and yet enjoying none of the immunities of freedom. This singularity in our condition has not failed to strike us as well as you: but we know it is irremediable here. Our differences of color, the servitude of many and most of our brethren, and the prejudices which those circumstances have naturally occasioned, will not allow us to hope, even if we could desire, to mingle with you, one day, in the benefits of citizenship. As long as we remain among you, we must (and shall) be content to be a distinct caste, exposed to the indignities and dangers, physical and moral, to which our situation makes us liable. All that we may expect, is to merit by our peaceable and orderly behaviour, your consideration and the protection of the laws. It is not to be imputed to you that we are here. Your ancestors remonstrated against the introduction of the first of our race, who were brought amongst you; and it was the mother country that insisted on their admission, that her colonies and she might profit, as she thought, by their compulsory labor. Leaving out all considerations of generosity, humanity, and benevolence, you have the strongest reasons to favor and facilitate the withdrawal from among you of such as wish to remove. But if *you* have every reason to wish for our removal, how much greater are *our* inducements to remove? Though we are not slaves, we are not free. Beyond a mere subsistence, and the impulse of

religion, there is nothing to arouse us to the exercise of our faculties, or excite us to the attainment of eminence. Though under the shield of your laws, we are partially protected, not totally oppressed; nevertheless, our situation will and must inevitably have the effect of crushing, not developing the capacities that God has given us. We are, besides, of opinion, that our absence will accelerate the liberation of such of our brethren as are in bondage, by the permission of Providence. When such of us as wish, and may be able, shall have gone before to open and lead the way, a channel will be left, through which may be poured such as hereafter receive their freedom from the kindness or interests of their masters, or by public opinion and legislative enactment, and who are willing to join us, who have preceded them. Of the many schemes that have been proposed, we must approve of that of AFRICAN COLONIZATION. If we were able and at liberty to go whithersoever we would, the greater number, willing to leave this community, would prefer LIBERIA, on the coast of Africa. We shall carry your language, your customs, your opinions, and Christianity to that now desolate shore, and thence they will gradually spread with our growth, far into the continent. The slave-trade, both external and internal, can be abolished only by settlements on the coast. We foresee that difficulties and dangers await those who emigrate, such as every infant establishment must encounter and endure. But 'Ethiopia shall lift her hands unto God.' Thousands and tens of thousands poorer than we, annually emigrate from Europe to your country, and soon have it in their power to hasten the arrival of those they left behind. If we were doubtful of your good will and benevolent intentions, we would remind you of the time when you were in a situation similar to ours, and when your forefathers were driven by religious persecution to a distant and inhospitable shore. An empire may be the result of our emigration, as of theirs. The protection, kindness, and assistance which you would have de-

sired for yourselves under such circumstances, now extend to us." This memorial, of which I have given the greater part, was adopted at meetings of "respectable free people of color, held in the Bethel" and African churches, which meetings were composed of "several denominations, from every part of the city." The memorial is a well written document, and cannot be read without interest.'

'There is,' said Henry, 'a wide field for enterprise in Africa, and for Christian effort; if I were an African, I think I should not hesitate to go.'

'I was exceedingly interested many years since to witness the embarkation of emigrants from one of our principal ports; and was surprised to find in how many instances the native origin in respect to particular districts, of those who were about to sail, might be determined. Said a dear friend, who soon after laid down his life, on a mission to Africa,\* "There is the aged Fantee and Haousian—they say 'I go to encourage the young—they can never be elevated here—I have tried it sixty years—it is in vain—could I by my example induce them to embark, and I die the next day, I should be satisfied.' There is also the Congoese, the Gulan, the Angolan, the Accran, and Ashantee—all with their faces to the East. And there is one case of great interest—the name of that girl is A-cush-u-no-no. In Africa she would be styled a young Fantee Princess. She is an heir of heaven, we have every reason to believe."

'It is delightful to anticipate, as I think we may, with great confidence, the result of the colonization enterprise. It is glorious in its object—it will, I doubt not, be truly glorious in its results.'

\* The Rev. Horace Sessions. He was actively engaged in the colonization cause, accompanied an expedition to Liberia, and died on his return to resume his labors in behalf of the cause in this country. The death of this amiable and excellent young man, was greatly lamented.



## CONVERSATION XIX.

“For myself, I am free to say, that of all things that have been going on in our favor since 1787, when the abolition of the slave-trade was seriously proposed, that which is going on in the United States is the most important. It surpasses every thing that has yet occurred. No sooner had your colony been established on Cape Montserado, than there appeared a disposition among the owners of slaves to give them freedom voluntarily and without compensation, and allow them to be sent to the land of their fathers, so that you have many thousands redeemed, without any cost for their redemption. To me this is truly astonishing. Can this have taken place without the intervention of the Spirit of God?”—*Thomas Clarkson.*

‘It is a settled point, I should think,’ said Caroline—‘I consider it as settled in my own mind, at least, that Africans and their descendants cannot be so useful or happy, as citizens of this country, as they might be in their fathers’ native land.’

Said Mr. L. ‘I have been looking over a discourse by the Rev. Dr. Miller, of Princeton, which was delivered in 1823 before the Synod of New Jersey. The Dr. holds this language in reference to this subject, which, if you please, I will read: “If liberated and left among the whites, they would be a constant source of annoyance, corruption, and danger. They could never be trusted as faithful citizens; for they could never feel that their interests and those of the whites are precisely the same. Each would regard the other with painful suspicion and apprehension. It is essential to the interests of each that they be separated to such distances from each other as to avoid too frequent intercourse. They should be in a situation to live a separate and independent people. If we would consult their temporal and eternal well-being, this must be done; if we would consult our own interest and happiness, it is equally neces-

sary." Again he says, "They could never be either respectable or happy in the midst of a white population. They can never, whilst public sentiment remains what it is, associate with the whites on terms of equality. They may be industrious and regular; they may be enterprising and successful in business; and exhibit talents, knowledge, and wealth; but after all they can never associate with the whites on terms comfortable to either. They will be treated, and they will feel as inferiors. They cannot live under the influence of that sense of character, of those excitements to aim at high standing in society which operate upon a corresponding number of white people. As they cannot fail to have a degraded standing, so this will confer on them in a greater or less degree a degraded character. Place any number of human beings, of whatever complexion, in a situation in which they can never aspire to an equality with those around them, and you take away from them one of the main incitements to industry, to honorable enterprise, and to emulation of excellence."

'This is indeed but a repetition of the sentiments which I have already advanced in these conversations. Slavery will sooner or later, cease from among us; and I pray that the hour may hasten when our country shall be delivered from the scourge and reproach. But the more I contemplate the subject, the more I am convinced that the plan which gives promise of greatest and most extensive benefit to the slaves in our country, as well as to the whites, is *emancipation united with COLONIZATION*. Nor can I doubt that the colored people of this country who are already nominally free, will best promote their own interests, as well as the best interests of their race and the salvation of their fathers' native continent, by planting themselves in some position on the inviting shores of Africa.'

'But, Pa, they must be prepared by education, and suitable moral and religious instruction, in order to be good citizens of any country?'

‘Certainly. African improvement and colonization should be considered inseparable. Great care must be taken not to destroy the hope of a rich blessing for Africa, by sending thither a people who are not prepared to assist in laying the foundation of a great and cultivated, prosperous and Christian nation. The germ of such an empire, I am happy to say, has already, as I confidently believe, taken root in Africa. The leaven of Christianity is already in the midst of her dark and absurd superstitions. And I have no doubt that before a century has passed away, millions of free and enlightened and Christian people will lift up their hearts on the shores of Africa, in thanksgivings to God, in grateful recollection of the Pilgrims of Mesurado!’

‘We should like, Pa, to know more than we do of colonization, and of the object and history of the American Colonization Society.’

‘I was just about to suggest the same,’ said Henry.

‘It will give me great pleasure to gratify your wishes in this respect. THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY is a voluntary and benevolent association which was formed at Washington, District of Columbia, in the December of 1816. Who is entitled to the honor of first suggesting its formation and character, I shall not undertake to determine. As early as 1777, Mr. Jefferson proposed to the legislature of Virginia to have incorporated in the revised code of that State, a plan for colonizing the free colored population of the United States. He proposed to establish a colony in some part of our Western country. Dr. Fothergill and Granville Sharp appear the first in England who entertained the subject of colonization in Africa, the latter of whom may be regarded as the founder of the colony of Sierra Leone. The earliest suggestions that I have met with on the subject of colonization, from over the waters, were from the pen of Granville Sharp, bearing date 1783. It is said that Anthony Benezet, of Philadelphia, in a letter

addressed to Dr. Fothergill, 1773, proposed to colonize the negroes of this country in "that large extent of country from the west side of the Alleghany mountains to the Mississippi, on a breadth of four or five hundred miles." Benezet also writes, under date of 4th month, 28th, 1773, "I am like-minded with thee, with respect to the danger and difficulty which would attend a sudden manumission of those negroes now in the southern colonies, as well to themselves as the whites." A society seems to have been formed in Pennsylvania, in 1785, for promoting the *gradual* abolition of slavery, and received a charter in 1789; but it does not appear that this body contemplated the colonization of the free blacks in a separate community. For this society, however, it has been claimed by an able advocate for colonization, that it is "the parent of perhaps all similar institutions in this country."

' In 1787, Dr. Thornton, of Washington, formed a project for colonizing, on the Western coast of Africa, free men of color, from the *United States*; and published an address to those residing in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, inviting them to accompany him to Africa for the purpose of forming a settlement. He was enthusiastically engaged in the enterprize, and was so far successful that he found a sufficient number of free blacks ready to go; but his efforts failed for want of funds, the public mind not being then sufficiently prepared for any such enterprise of benevolence to afford that pecuniary aid which is so commendably furnished when any good object presents itself at the present day. In 1789 the Rev. Dr. Hopkins, of Rhode Island, corresponded on the subject with Granville Sharp, and in 1790, an able article, promotive of the same object, was published by Ferdinando Fairfax, of Virginia. In 1801 the legislature of Virginia resolved instructions to their Governor, Mr. Monroe, to apply to the President of the United States, and urge him to institute negotiations with some of the powers of Europe possessed of colonies

on the coast of Africa, for an asylum to which emancipated negroes might be sent. A correspondence followed between President Jefferson and the Sierra Leone Company, and afterwards with the government of Portugal; but obstacles presented and that project was abandoned.

‘The plan of a Colonization *Society*, it is generally considered, was proposed by the Rev. Robert Finley, of New-Jersey. He, it seems, devoted much thought to the subject in 1814, as also in 1815. It is also evident that the Rev. Samuel J. Mills, of Connecticut, was not, at this time, without the conception of the great plan in his own mind. Some, who assert that they speak from personal knowledge, represent Mr. Mills as the man, who, under God, was at the foundation of this institution. Be that as it may, he was confessedly a warm advocate for the measure, and greatly efficient in bringing about the desired result. The American Colonization Society was formed, as I have said, in 1816, and in the steps immediately preliminary to its organization are recorded the names of Mr. Finley, Mr. Mills, the Hon. C. F. Mercer of Virginia, and F. S. Key, and E. B. Caldwell, Esqrs. of Washington. Among those who attended the first meeting, for the organization of the Society, may be mentioned also as conspicuous, the Hon. Bushrod Washington, who was first President of the Society, and the Hon. Henry Clay, one of its earliest Vice-Presidents, and since its President.

‘The first Emigration of colored people to Africa from the United States was in 1815, about a year previous to the formation of the American Colonization Society. This expedition was under the direction of Paul Cuffee, a colored man and truly respectable, benevolent, and wealthy member of the denomination of Friends. Captain Cuffee, of New Bedford, Massachusetts, sailed from Boston, in his own vessel, taking with him thirty-eight persons to Sierra Leone, thirty of whom he carried out gratuitously, at an expense to himself of more than three thousand dollars.’

‘Did you say that he was a *colored* man, Pa?’

‘I did; and very much of a gentleman he was too. His father was a poor African, whom the hand of unfeeling avarice dragged from his native home and connexions into slavery; but by his good conduct, faithfulness and persevering industry, he, in time, obtained his freedom. Paul, the son, was poor in his early days; but was industrious and enterprising, by which traits, joined to much practical wisdom and sterling common sense, he at length rose to opulence. He was largely concerned in commerce; and in many voyages to Russia, England, Africa, the West Indies, and Southern States, commanded his own ship. A man of the strictest integrity, modest and yet dignified in his manners; of a feeling and liberal heart, public spirited and versed in the business of the world; his acquaintance and friendship were valued by many who greatly honored him, both in this country and in Europe. I remember seeing him often, in my youth. The last time was as he passed through my native place, in his own private carriage, drawn by beautiful white horses, with a coachman of his own complexion, on his way to attend a Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, of which I have said he was a worthy and highly respected member.\*

\* It is said that “few could remain long in his presence without forgetting their prejudice against color, and feeling their hearts expand with juster sentiments towards the most injured portion of the human family.” Besides the voyage to Africa with the emigrants, he is said to have previously gone both to England and Africa in aid of the same great object, the improvement of the African race. He died in 1817, leaving an estate valued at \$20,000. The Rev. Peter Williams, a colored man, and Minister of an African church in the city of New-York, connected with the Protestant Episcopal Church, in a sermon preached on occasion of the death of Captain Cuffee, has these remarks, which we quote both as honorable testimony to the estimation in which Captain Cuffee was held, and as pleasing evidence of the good sense and respectable talents of the Rector of St. Philip’s Church: “His countenance was serious but mild; his speech and habit plain and unostentatious; his deportment dignified and prepossessing, blending gravity with mo-



'In 1818 the American Colonization Society appointed as agents, the Rev. Samuel John Mills, whose labors and prayers, in the short time that he lived, accomplished much for the glory of God, and laid the foundation for great results in the conversion of perishing heathen, and the Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, now Dr. Burgess, the excellent Pastor of one of the churches of New-England; and instructed them to proceed to the coast of Africa, by the way of England, to make the necessary inquiries for a suitable location of a colony. These gentlemen visited all the ports from Sierra Leone to Sherbro, and acquired much valuable information. Mr. Mills, as you know, died on the passage from Africa, leaving the church to mourn the loss of one of the best and most useful of men. You recollect, probably, the just and eloquent tribute to the memory of this man of God, by the Rev. Mr. Bacon of New Haven. Mr. Bacon, you know; and know also that he is the ardent and faithful friend of Africa. I must, through respect for the memory of the sainted Mills, read to you an extract from Mr. Bacon's discourse. We will then postpone any further conversation until evening, when we will hope to resume the subject.'

"A young minister of the gospel once said to an intimate friend, 'My brother, you and I are little men, but before we die our influence must be felt on the other side of the world.' Not many years after, a ship, returning from a distant quarter of the globe, paused on her passage across the deep. There stood on her deck a man of God, who wept over the dead body of his friend. He prayed, and the sailors wept with him. And they consigned that body to the ocean. It was the body of the man who, in the ardor of

desty and sweetness, and firmness with gentleness and humility. \* \* He rose like the sun, diffusing wider and wider the rays of his beneficence; until having attained his zenith, even the nations beyond the seas were made to rejoice in his beams. \* \* His voyages are all over: he has made his last, and it was to the haven of eternal repose."—*N. Y. Spectator*, 1817; and *Griffin's Plea*.

youthful benevolence, had aspired to extend his influence through the world. He died in youth ; but he had redeemed his pledge ; and at this hour his influence is felt in Asia, in Africa, in the Islands of the sea, and in every corner of his native country. This was SAMUEL JOHN MILLS ; and all who know his history, will say that I have exaggerated neither the grandeur of his aspirations, nor the result of his efforts. He traversed our land like a ministering spirit, silently, and yet effectually, from the hill country of the Pilgrims to the valley of the Missouri. He wandered on errands of benevolence from village to village, and from city to city, pleading now with the patriot for a country growing up to an immensity of power, and now with the Christian, for a world lying in wickedness. He explored in person the desolation of the West, and in person he stirred up to enterprise and effort the churches of the East. He lived for India and Owhyhee, and died in the service of Africa. He went to heaven in his youth ; but his works do follow him, like a long train of glory that still widens and brightens, and will widen and brighten for ever."

'Let me repeat,' said Caroline, 'as a supplement to the truly eloquent extract from Mr. Bacon's eulogium, the poetry of one whom I love to quote, and whose effusions you, Pa, and Henry, both love to hear, and then I will consent to adjourn ; although, I confess, I shall long for the evening to come, to resume the subject, for I have become deeply interested.'

'I will hear you with pleasure, Caroline,' said her father. Caroline remarked, 'They are the lines of Mrs. Sigourney, on reading the Biography of Mr. Mills.'

"Oh Africk ! raise thy voice and weep  
For him who sought to heal thy wo,  
Whose bones beneath the briny deep  
Bleach where the pearl and coral glow.  
Unfetter'd by the wiles of earth,  
And girded for the race of heaven,

Even from his dedicated birth  
To God and thee his soul was given.

In hermit cells of prayerful thought,  
In meditation's holy sphere,  
He nursed that sacred wish which sought  
The darkness of a world to cheer.

Our western wilds where outcasts roam,  
Sad India's vales with blood defac'd,  
Blest Obookiah's sea-girt home  
The ardor of his zeal embrac'd.

But thou, indebted clime, that drew  
Through torrid seas his stranger sail,  
Whose fall cliffs heard his fond adieu,  
Pour forth the wildest, bitterest wail."

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## CONVERSATION XX.

"Many circumstances at present seem to concur in brightening the prospects of the Society, and cherishing the hope that the time will come when the dreadful calamity which has so long afflicted our country, and filled so many with despair, will be gradually removed, and by means consistent with justice, peace, and the general satisfaction: thus giving to our country the full enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, and to the world the full benefit of its great example."—*Madison*.

Mr. L. remarked, at the opening of this conversation, 'It has occurred to me that, in mentioning the early friends of Africa, I ought not to have omitted mentioning more particularly the name of Anthony Benezet. His name will live, whilst virtue and benevolence are respected among men;

and his earnestness in the cause of humanity will be remembered long after the history of Africa's redemption shall be written. Benezet established a free school in Philadelphia for the education of colored people, which is still in operation in Willing's alley, and at which John Williams and Peter Harris, interesting youths from the native tribes of Bassa Cove, were partially educated; the former of whom returned to Africa, and the latter, an African prince, went to Lafayette College, for the completion of his education. Benezet was always prompt to plead in the behalf of the colored race, as, to their honor be it told, have ever been the respectable Society of Friends, of which he was a member, to feel a deep concern to ameliorate the condition of this unhappy class of their fellow-men. Benezet early caused to be republished in Philadelphia the celebrated tract of Granville Sharp, on the injustice of the slave-trade, and also wrote and published a work on the subject himself, which was republished in England. He commenced a correspondence with Mr. Sharp on the subject, in 1772, of this correspondence I will give you another extract:—"I doubt not," he writes, "but thou wilt, upon inquiry, find more well-minded people ready to cry thee 'God speed,' in this weighty service, than thou art aware of. The most solid amongst all dissenters, particularly the Presbyterians, would be well-pleased to see an end put to the slave-trade, and many, to slavery itself. The people of New England have made a law that nearly amounts to a prohibition of the trade, and I am informed, have proposed to the governor and council, that all the negroes born in the country shall be free at a certain age. The people of Maryland and Virginia, are so convinced of the inexpediency, if not of the iniquity of any further importation of negroes, that twenty thousand people would freely join in a petition to Parliament, against any further import." Roberts Vaux, in his life of Benezet, says, "During the sitting of the Legislature, 1780, a session memorable for the enactment of a law which commenced the

gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania," Benezet "had private interviews on the subject with every member of the government, and no doubt thus essentially contributed to the adoption of that celebrated measure."

'I will now endeavor to satisfy your inquiry in respect to the *object* of the American Colonization Society. This can be done in a few words, by referring to the constitution itself, of the Society, the first two articles of which are as follows:

"Article I. This Society shall be called the American Society FOR COLONIZING THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR of the United States.

"Article II. The OBJECT to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is TO PROMOTE AND EXECUTE A PLAN FOR COLONIZING, WITH THEIR CONSENT, THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR RESIDING IN OUR COUNTRY, IN AFRICA, OR SUCH OTHER PLACE AS CONGRESS SHALL DEEM EXPEDIENT."

'Is this alone the object of the Society?' said Caroline, 'I had supposed that it contemplated also the suppression of the slave-trade, and the final emancipation of slaves in our country.'

'Its whole object,' said Mr. L. 'is stated in the second article of its constitution. Other important ends may be obtained as the means of establishing and building up the colony, or as consequences of the efforts for colonization; but this is the one object it has in view. Pursuing this one object, the North and the South may unite in harmonious action. The subject of emancipation it passes by, knowing that this belongs exclusively to the several States in which slavery is tolerated, and to individual proprietors in those States, under and according to their laws. The subject of the slave-trade is not contemplated directly in the constitution of the Society, for the authority of its suppression is vested only in the government of the nations. Nor does it directly aim at the education and improvement of the blacks in this country; for this must be under the direc-

tion of State Governments, or of State Societies, and no interference in the domestic concerns of any one State, is admissible on the part of inhabitants of another State. At the same time, to use the language of Mr. Clay, then one of its Vice-Presidents, "It hopes that if it shall demonstrate the practicability of the successful removal to Africa, of free persons of color, with their own consent; the cause of emancipation, either by States or by individuals, may be incidentally advanced. At the same time, our country will be relieved of a great evil in proportion as colonization succeeds; those who may remove will find their condition greatly improved; and by introducing knowledge, industry, and religion into Africa, we shall contribute to the suppression of the slave-trade, and to the civilization and conversion of a CONTINENT! These are ends which will be attained although the object of the Society is *one*."

"The course which the Society takes, unites a greater number of judicious and well disposed persons of every section of our common country, probably, than any other plan could. It is true, there are not a few who object: the slave-holder has, in some instances, indulged the suspicion that an interference "with the rights of property," may be intended; and the advocate of general and immediate emancipation without discrimination, has cast upon the Society his keenest reproaches, alleging that its influence, if not its direct object, is to perpetuate the existence of slavery. These objections, however, so diametrically opposite, many advocates of colonization regard as matter of felicitation, rather than otherwise, inasmuch as they evince the wisdom of the plan of operation which is proposed. The virulent denunciations of both extremes of public sentiment, they say, were to be expected by a Society rejecting the hurtful in the views of either, although adopting the liberal in both. Besides, had it been warmly espoused at the first by either, it would have been irreconcilably opposed by the other, and would have been itself



the dividing line between two great parties, leaving no middle ground on which the great majority of the nation might stand, as now, and safely urge forward this cause of philanthropy and of patriotism, without compromise of principles, or the violation of the constitution and endangerment of the Union.'

'This Society,' Caroline here remarked, 'we know, is approved by many judicious and good men, and I do not see why it should be opposed, or suspected of designing to take any other course than that which it has taken, and still pursues. "Charity thinketh no evil."'

Henry said, 'I wonder how the subject would strike the mind of a man of enlarged views and philanthropic soul, who was in a situation to see it as it is, and to judge without prejudice. I should think now, that the opinion of such a man as LAFAYETTE, would be worthy of regard; if he approved of colonization, or disapproved of it, I should think that his unprejudiced opinion would have influence.'

'Lafayette was a Vice-President of the Colonization Society, Henry,' said Caroline.

'O no, Caroline,' said H. 'are you not mistaken?'

'Yes,' said Mr. L. 'Lafayette was an honorary Vice-President of the Colonization Society. And we have his opinion, expressly, on the subject of Colonization. In a letter, dated at "Paris, Oct. 29, 1831," he says, "The progressing state of our Liberia establishment is to me a source of enjoyment and the most lively interest. PROUD AS I AM OF THE HONOR of being one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, I only regret that I cannot make myself more useful. When the Society meet, be pleased to present my wishes, gratitude, and respect."'

'Who are some of the other officers of the Society; many of our most distinguished public men?'

'It has enjoyed both the entire confidence of our most distinguished men, and the high honor of their influence and services as its members and officers. Some of these

“are not, for God has taken them;” others are with us, and long may they be spared to help forward the cause of colonization, and as ornaments and blessings to the world. The Hon. Bushrod Washington, I have already named, as its first President. Charles Carroll was President of the Society after the death of Judge Washington. James Madison was its next President. Henry Clay, as its President, succeeded Mr. Madison. The late Chief-Justice Marshall and the venerable and lamented Bishop White, have been among its Vice-Presidents; also Hon. Wm. H. Crawford, Bishop McKendree, Robert Ralston, the Rt. Hon. Lord Bexley of England, Rev. Leonard Woods, D.D., Hon. John Cotton Smith, President Fisk, Gov. Southard, Samuel Bayard, General Mercer, Rev. Dr. Olin, Rev. Dr. Alexander. Among its present officers, besides Mr. Clay, are Daniel Webster, President Day, Theo. Frelinghuysen, Bishop Meade, Geo. W. Lafayette of France, Elisha Whitteley, Bishop Otey, Girard Ralston, Dr. Hodgkin, of England, Gen. Scott, Rev. Dr. Bethune, Elliott Cresson, Anson G. Phelps, Samuel Gurney of England, W. C. Rives, and—I will not undertake to enumerate more although I might recollect and mention many others of distinguished eminence in different parts of the Union. Its Secretary is the Rev. W. McLain, of Washington. The Colonization Society has, indeed, become an object of admiration in different parts of the globe.’

‘I recollect,’ said Henry, ‘among those whose approbation it received, the name of Wilberforce.’

‘In respect to Wilberforce, your apprehension is correct that it *received* his approbation,’ said Mr. L. “*Troja fuit!*” It may be considered a mooted point, however, as relates to the final decision of the mind of the philanthropic and lamented Wilberforce. It is asserted that he withdrew confidence from the cause, although he had been the unhesitating friend and advocate of colonization. In regard to this matter, Dr. Hodgkin, of London, says that “Wil-

herforce continued to avow his approbation of the Society until near the period of his lamented death, when the *ex-parte* statements of those who knew the importance of his authority, obtained a triumph, the achievement of which confers no honor."

"The Society has not been without many and distinguished friends abroad. Lord Althorp, the late learned Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the most enlightened and distinguished noblemen of England, publicly pronounced the foundation of the colony of Liberia to be "one of the greatest events of modern times." The immortal Clarkson, whose labors in the cause of African freedom have been greater than those of almost any other man living, was ever "strongly attached to the Society;" the Duke of Sussex, Lord Bexley, the Duke of Bedford, the Archbishop of Dublin, and others of the highest standing in society, are and were officers of a Society denominated THE BRITISH AFRICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, formed in Great Britain in aid of the colonization enterprise. They have considered the plan of the American Colonization Society as "admirably adapted to introduce Christianity and civilization among the natives of Africa, and to extirpate the slave-trade, which the efforts of Great Britain and other powers have been unable to suppress." I might mention many eminent foreigners who have expressed their decided approbation of the Society."

"Auxiliaries are found. I presume, in almost every State of the Union; are they not. Pa?"

"I am not able to specify the number, but I recollect there are State and other auxiliaries in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Delaware; and resolutions approving of the Society, have been passed by the Legislatures of most of these and other States, and by most of these also the American

Colonization Society has been recommended to the patronage of the General Government. Some of the States have made conditional appropriations for their respective treasuries. Maryland set a noble example to her sister States by granting \$200,000 from her treasury—the sum of \$20,000 annually for ten years—to enable the free blacks of Maryland to remove to Liberia.

‘The Society has also received the approbation of all prominent denominations, by the acts of their ecclesiastical judicatories, whether assemblies, general associations, synods, classes, meetings, or conventions. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, the Dutch Reformed, Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists, Lutherans, Moravians, and Friends, have thought proper, in their larger ecclesiastical bodies, to commend the objects of the Society to the patronage and good wishes of the community.’

‘Has the Society considerable funds by which to sustain its operations?’

‘It has almost none, aside from voluntary contributions, which are made from week to week. Its income, however, from these sources, has been considerable, and gradually increasing from its commencement.’

‘In our next conversation, we will turn our attention to LIBERIA.’

## CONVERSATION XXI.

“Yes! thy proud lords, unpitying band, shall see  
That man hath yet a soul, and dare be free;  
A little while, along thy saddening plains,  
The starless night of desolation reigns;  
Truth shall restore the light by Nature given,  
And, like Prometheus, bring the fire of heaven!  
Prone to the dust Oppression shall be hurl’d—  
Her name, her nature, wither’d from the world.”—*Campbell.*

‘You promised, in our last conversation,’ said Caroline, ‘that we should this morning hear something of the history of LIBERIA; and I assure you, Pa, that Henry and I have a great deal of curiosity to satisfy on this subject, so that you may expect to be troubled with a great many questions. Why, Sir, was the country in which the colonies are located, called *Liberia*?’

‘I am much gratified to find that you both take so deep an interest in the subject; and shall be pleased to hear and to reply to as many inquiries as you may feel inclined to make. The name “Liberia,” was given to the district of country in which the colonies are found, because it is *the land of the free’d*; the name being coined from the Latin adjective “liber,” or “libera,” *free*.

‘The central point of the colony of Liberia, proper, is Cape Mesurado, or Montserado, which is represented as a most beautiful and commanding site. Liberia embraces all the distinct colonies which are or may be planted. At the time of its declaration of Independence, in 1847, it was situated between 4° 20’ and 6° 40’ N. Lat. and 7° 30’ and 11° W. Long. from Greenwich, extending along the coast several hundred miles, reaching into the interior indefi-

nately. But by more recent purchases, it now covers nearly 800 miles of coast. Rivers, some of considerable size, water the country throughout. The soil is extremely fertile, and abounds in all the productions of tropical climates. The emigrant population in Liberia, exclusive of the Maryland Colony, was in 1850, about 6,000, and the native population was estimated at 150,000. Of these last more than 500 were so far prepared by civilization and good influences, to discharge the duties of citizenship, that they were admitted to the privileges of the polls and to the rights of citizenship in general.\*

‘The chief city in the colony is *Monrovia* ; so called in honor of the late ex-President of the United States, James Monroe. It is situated on Cape Montserado, at the mouth of the Mesurado river ; and contains about 400 buildings, among which are—the Government-house, of wood and stone ; Court-house, stone ; Senate-hall, stone ; prison, stone ; two printing-offices ; three churches, presbyterian, methodist, and baptist ; four school-houses, stone and brick ; tannery ; cabinet-manufactory ; four blacksmiths’-shops ; eight shoemakers’-shops ; three tailors’-shops ; market-house ; forty stone dwelling-houses ; thirteen stone stores ; three wood and stone stores ; fifty-one wood and stone dwelling-houses ; ninety wood dwelling-houses ; thirty thatched dwelling-houses, &c. It has a Temperance Society, numbering upwards of 500 members—and about 1500 inhabitants. The houses are generally well built, and of a pleasant appearance. The city is seventy feet above the sea ; and the temperature is mild and agreeable, the thermometer not varying more than from 67° to 87° and the inhabitants enjoying, most of the time, a refreshing sea-breeze. The streets are 100 feet wide, crossing each other at right angles. The harbor,

\* It is said in the recent Report of the Naval Committee to the U. States Congress, that “upward of 80,000 of the natives have become civilized, and enrolled themselves as citizens of the Republic,”



which is formed by the mouth of the river, is convenient and capacious for vessels of moderate dimensions. Dr. Lugenbeel says :—The dwellings of many of the citizens of Monrovia are not only comfortably, but elegantly, and some of them richly furnished ; and some of the residents of this little bustling metropolis live in a style of ease and affluence which does not comport with the contracted views of those persons who regard a residence in Africa as necessarily associated with the almost entire privation of the good things of this life. For several years past, there have been two newspapers published regularly at Monrovia ; the “ Liberia Herald,” and “ Africa’s Luminary.”

Seven miles north of the outlet of the Mesurado, is the river St. Paul’s on which is the town of *Caldwell*. This town, after the plan of some American villages, has but one street, which is a mile and a half long, planted on either side with a beautiful row of plaintain and banana trees. Caldwell is an agricultural establishment, and is flourishing. It has three churches, three day schools, and three Sunday schools. It is an interesting fact that one of the native kings applied at one of these day schools for admission of twelve children ; the school was already full.

Between Caldwell and Monrovia, on Stockton creek, is a settlement of recaptured Africans, called *New Georgia*, and planted in part by the aid of our General Government. It contains 500 inhabitants, who, although they were once the miserable tenants, in chains, of the loathsome slave-ship, are now living in the enjoyment of the blessings of Christian and civilized life. This place has a church and near two hundred houses. Mr. Buchanan, who visited the place, said, respecting this settlement, “ The air of perfect neatness, thrift, and comfort, which every where prevails, affords a lovely commentary on the advancement which these interesting people have made in civilization and Christian order, under the patronage of the Colonization Society. Imagine to yourself some two or three hundred

houses, with streets intersecting each other at regular distances, preserved clean as the best swept side-walk in Philadelphia, and lined with well planted hedges of Cassava and of Plum ; a school-house full of orderly children, neatly dressed, and studiously engaged ; and then say whether I was guilty of extravagance, in exclaiming as I did, after surveying this most lovely scene, that had the Colonization Society accomplished no more than has been done in the rescue from slavery and savage habits of these people, I should have been well satisfied.”’

‘A great portion of the vegetables which are used in Monrovia are raised at New Georgia.’

‘North-east of Monrovia, twenty miles, on the same river, at the foot of the highlands, is another flourishing town called *Millsburgh*, containing about 500 inhabitants, two churches, and one school, and rapidly increasing by new colonists. Millsburgh has peculiar advantages, enabling it to become the commercial medium between the interior and the sea-coast.\* The land is fertile, and the forests abound with excellent timber. The town is represented as very neat and healthy.’

‘Dr. Lugunbeel says, “Like the other farming settlements, the houses generally are separated at a considerable distance from one another ; so that the whole township extends about a mile and a half along the bank of the river. Millsburg is perhaps the most beautiful, and one of the most healthy locations in Liberia. The land is remarkably good, and of easy cultivation. A flourishing Female Academy is in operation at this place, under the care of Mrs. Wilkins, missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church. And, on the opposite side of the river is White Plains, a mission station of the same Church.

“Besides these settlements, there are Marshall and

\* The St. Paul’s River is supposed to have a course of from 200 to 300 miles.

numerous other points along the St. Paul's river, which are occupied by farmers; so that the banks of this beautiful stream present, in many places, the appearance of agricultural industry and comfort.

" *Virginia*, or New Virginia, as it is sometimes called, is a new settlement, formed principally in the early part of 1846. It is also on the St. Paul's river, opposite Caldwell. This is the site of the United States Receptacle for liberated Africans, erected in 1847.

" *Edina* is located on the northern bank of the St. John's river, about half a mile from its mouth. It is handsomely situated; and in reference to the healthiness of the location, it is perhaps equal to most others in Liberia. Some of the citizens of Edina are engaged in the cultivation of exportable articles of produce.

" *Bassa Cove* is located at the junction of the Benson river (a small stream) with the St. John's, nearly opposite Edina. Several of the citizens of this place also have given considerable attention to the cultivation of coffee, arrow-root, and ginger, during the last few years.

" *Bexley* is situated on the northern side of the St. John's river, about six miles from its mouth. This place, like the settlements on the St. Paul's river, occupies a considerable extent of territory. It is divided into Upper and Lower Bexley; both together extending about four miles along the river. Bexley is a fine farming settlement; the land is excellent; and the location is comparatively healthy. Several of the citizens of this place are pretty actively engaged in cultivating articles for exportation. This is certainly one of the most interesting settlements in Liberia. The Mission of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions is located at this place; also the head quarters of the Southern Baptist Mission.

" *Greenville* is situated at the mouth of the Sinou river, about one hundred and thirty miles by sea southeast of Monrovia. Like the settlement of Marshall, most of the

houses are located along the sea-shore. Greenville presents a handsome appearance from the anchorage. It is one of the most healthy settlements in Liberia. The land in the immediate vicinity of Greenville, and indeed, of all the other settlements near the sea-shore, is much inferior to that on the banks of the rivers, several miles from their entrance into the ocean. Consequently those persons who expect to live by 'the sweat of their brow,' in the cultivation of the soil, will find it greatly to their advantage to locate beyond the sound of the breaking surface of the ocean.

"*Readsville* is a small farming settlement, on the Sinou river, about five miles above Greenville. It was formed principally by the people who were manumitted by the late Mrs. Read of Mississippi.

"In every settlement there is one place, or more, of public worship, in which religious services are regularly held. And, in nearly every settlement there is one regular day and Sunday school, or more. The principal deficiency in the system of education in Liberia consists in the inability to procure the services of a sufficient number of competent teachers. I trust that the time is not far distant, when a more uniform, permanent, and effectual system of education will be in operation in all the settlements in Liberia. Most of the schools are supported by benevolent societies in the United States; and most of the pulpits are filled by ministers who receive stated salaries from one or other of the Missionary Societies in the United States.

"The colony of 'Maryland in Liberia,' which has always maintained a distinctive character, and which has always been under a different government, from the Republic of Liberia, was established in the early part of the year 1834. Ever since that period it has continued to progress in interest and importance; and, at present, it occupies a prominent position, as an asylum for the proscribed descendants of Ham; to whom the siren song of 'My native

land ' loses its mellowing cadence in the thrilling, patriotic sound of ' Sweet land of liberty.'

" This interesting Colony is located about two hundred and fifty miles, by sea, southeast from Monrovia.—*Harper*, the principal town or settlement, is situated near the point of the Cape ; (Cape Palmas, a bold projecting promontory, which is one of the most prominent points or land-marks on the western coast of Africa ;) and, from the anchorage, it presents a handsome appearance. At the distance of about half a mile from Harper is the town of *East Harper*; in which are several beautiful sites for residences, commanding a fine view of the ocean, and of the adjacent hills and vales. Between these two villages, there are two large native towns, comprising several hundred houses, which present a marked contrast with the comfortable looking dwellings of the colonists. At the distance of about two and a half miles beyond Harper is another settlement, called Tumantown. Most of the land near the road belonging to these two villages is occupied by the colonists ; so that on both sides of this highway many neat little cottages may be seen, and many handsome gardens and small farms.

" The whole population of Maryland in Liberia, exclusive of aborigines, is about 900."

" Maryland in Liberia numbers, with its native population, more than 100,000 inhabitants. They are represented as temperate, intelligent, and industrious ; and as giving evidence of mental as well as physical energy, that greatly encourages the confident hope and expectation that they will yet occupy an honorable rank among the civilized world.

" I must give you an extract from an address from this colony to the colored people of the United States. " We wish," say they, " to be candid. It is not every man that we can honestly advise, or desire to come to this country. To those who are contented to live and educate their children as house servants and lackeys, we would say, *stay*

*where you are* ; here we have no masters to employ you. To the indolent, heedless, and slothful, we would say, tarry among the flesh-pots of Egypt ; here we get our bread by the sweat of our brow. To drunkards and rioters, we would say, come not to us ; you never can become naturalized in a land where there are no grog-shops, and where temperance and order is the motto. To the timorous and suspicious, we would say, stay where you have protectors ; here we protect ourselves. But the industrious, enterprising, and patriotic, of whatever occupation, or enterprise—the mechanic, the merchant, the farmer, and especially the latter, we would counsel, advise, and entreat, to come over, and be one with us, and assist us in this glorious enterprise, and enjoy with us that liberty to which we ever were, and to which the man of color ever must be a stranger, in America. To the ministers of the gospel, both white and colored, we would say, come over to the great harvest, and diffuse amongst us and our benighted neighbors, the light of the gospel, without which liberty itself is but slavery, and freedom perpetual bondage.” ’

‘Cape Palmas, on which this last named colony is situated, is represented as a place of great beauty and natural advantages.

‘I may here add, that on the river Sinou, the Mississippi Colonization Society have purchased a territory, and commenced a colony. The Louisiana Society propose the settlement of a colony on the opposite side of the same river. And soon I hope to be able to tell you of the prosperity of the colony which Virginia, by her State Colonization Society, resolved to plant upon the African coast, within the Liberian territory, and under the auspices of the Parent Society, to bear the name of New Virginia ; also that Kentucky has a prosperous colony there ; and indeed that many States have in Liberia, distinct colonies, lining the coast of western Africa, for many hundred miles, and thus furnishing a barrier to the approach of the slaver, on



the one side, whilst on the other they pour the light of civilization and Christianity upon benighted millions.'

'The prosperity of Liberia is truly wonderful,' said Henry; 'but I have heard it asserted, that the soil is *sterile*. It has been said that the country is mostly a *desert*.'

'A more fertile soil, Henry, and a more productive country, I suspect it would be difficult to find on the face of the earth. Its hills and its plains are covered with a verdure that never fades; the productions of nature keep on in their growth through all seasons of the year; and even the natives of the country, almost without farming tools or skill, with very little labor, make more grain and vegetables than they can consume. They who represent Liberia as sterile, must do so through pitiable ignorance, or a criminal design to injure the colony.

'It is true, there are in Africa extensive deserts: but what should we think of an attempt to persuade us, who are surrounded with the luxuries of a genial soil and climate, that our continent is an uninhabitable waste, because it contains within its limits "rocky mountains," "dismal swamps," and "barrens:" Mr. Park, the traveller, long years ago, said, "All the rich and valuable productions, both of the East and West Indies, might easily be naturalized, and brought to the utmost perfection in the tropical parts of this immense continent. Nothing is wanting to this end but example, to enlighten the minds of the natives, and instruction to enable them to direct their industry to proper objects. It was not possible for me to behold the wonderful fertility of the soil; the vast herds of cattle, proper both for labor and food: and a variety of other circumstances favorable to colonization and agriculture; and reflect, withal, on the means which presented themselves of a vast inland navigation, without lamenting that a country so gifted and favored by nature, should remain in its present savage and neglected state."

'Indeed, all tourists and journalists, who have explored

the continent of Africa, whilst they find barren spots, picture also widely-extended regions of the most exuberant and astonishing fertility—an exuberance affording so rich and spontaneous a profusion of productions, that the ungoverned natives have not the necessary excitement to exertion. Liberia lays claims, supported by the testimony of undoubted witnesses, to equal fertility with any other portion of the continent.\*

‘The colonists have all the domestic animals which are found in this country. They raise a great variety of vegetables and tropical fruits. Coffee grows spontaneously, and of an excellent kind. The attention of several of the most respectable colonists has been turned to its cultivation, and

\* Dr. Lungenbeel says: The land in the immediate vicinity of the ocean in Liberia, is generally low. There are some elevated spots, however, such as those on which the villages of Monrovia and Harper are located. The land generally becomes more elevated towards the interior; and, in some places, within fifty miles of the coast, it is quite mountainous. Far as the eye can reach from the highest points of land in the vicinity of the ocean, the whole country presents the appearance of a deep, unbroken forest, with hill-top rising above hill-top towards the vast interior; the country consisting, not as is supposed by some persons, of arid plains and burning sands, but of hills and valleys, covered with the verdure of perpetual spring. The country is well watered; many beautiful streams may be seen winding their way amidst blooming flowers and wild shrubbery; and many cooling springs of clear, sparkling water, invites the weary traveller to linger and quench his thirst. In all the settlements in Liberia good water can be procured without much difficulty. I candidly believe that a man may acquire more wealth in Liberia, by judicious management in the cultivation of the soil, than he could acquire in any part of the United States with double the quantity of land, double the amount of labor, and in double the length of time, even allowing for all the disadvantages under which he may have to labor in Liberia, and all the facilities which he might have in the United States. I am quite satisfied that every thing which is really necessary for human subsistence and comfort, together with many luxuries, can be raised in Liberia with much less labor than would be required to procure the necessities of life in the United States.

20,000 coffee trees have been planted by a single individual. The indigo plant is indigenous, and grows wild almost every where on the coast ; cotton is easily cultivated and the crops are productive ; the sugar-cane is found on many parts of the coast of Africa, and may be cultivated in Liberia ; rice is easy of cultivation, and has long been the principal article of food to the natives ; bananas of an excellent and delicious kind, plantains, oranges, fine flavored and very large, and limes, are common ; maize, or Indian corn, ripens in three months, and succeeds well ; pineapples are very good and in great abundance ; cocoanut trees flourish well ; pumpkins, squashes or simelins, cucumbers, watermelons, and muskmelons, arrive at great perfection in that climate ; cassada and yams are found in all parts of the coast, and are much used for food ; palm oil is produced in abundance ; tamarinds of various kinds ; gum senegal and copal are articles of export in vast quantities ; pepper, and a variety of other spices, including cayenne, ginger, cubebs, cardamum, nutmegs, and cinnamon, are common on the coast ; several valuable dye woods are found, of which camwood and barwood are exported in considerable quantities ; gold abounds in many parts of Africa, and the amount exported may be greatly increased ; ivory is also a great article of commerce, and timber of almost every quality. All these, and many other productions, are found in Africa, and are, or may be, sources of advantage and of profit to Liberia. A colonial agent speaks of seeing at one of the beautiful villages of the recaptured Africans, a tract of one hundred acres planted with cassada, interspersed with patches of Indian corn and sweet potatoes.'

'Liberia, I should think, would enjoy very considerable commercial advantages.'

'Yes, Henry, such is its position that its commercial advantages are great. It is the central point in a long extent of sea coast ; and extensive relations of trade may be established between it and a vast interior. New avenues

are continually opening with the interior tribes, and no one can calculate the importance which some parts of Liberia may be expected to assume at some future, and not far distant day.'

'Liberia is already engaged considerably in commerce, is it not, Sir?'

'Yes; and, my son, it may be interesting to notice the progress which it is making in this department of wealth and prosperity. From January 7, 1826, to June 15, 1826, the nett profits on wood and ivory alone, passing through the hands of the settlers, was \$30,786. Passing on to 1829, we find the *exports* of African products to amount to \$60,000. In 1831, 46 vessels, 21 of which were American, visited the colony, and the amount of exports was \$88,911. During the year ending May 1, 1832, 59 vessels had visited the port of Monrovia, and the exports during the same period amounted to \$125,549 16, whilst the imports amounted to \$80,000. In two years, ending September 1843, camwood, palm oil, and ivory, were exported to the amount of \$123,690 00; and it increases its exports constantly in accelerated ratio.

'A portion of the colonists are continually and actively engaged in trade, disposing to the natives, of English and American, and other goods, and receiving in return dye-woods, ivory, hides, gold, palm oil, tortoise shell, rice, &c. which become articles of exportation and of great profit.

'Hand in hand with the progress of civilization, will be the march of commerce. Even now, the harbor of Monrovia presents, at times, a most animating scene to the beholder, of commercial activity and enterprise. You may see there often the harbor whitened with sails—they are anchoring and taking their departure, lading and unlading—warehouses are stored with rich cargoes—you hear the busy hum of industry—you see the alert movements of busy men, once, most of them, sluggard slaves! Freedom has transformed them into another kind of men.

‘Eliot Cresson, Esq. a generous and constant friend of the African race, as well as sincere patriot, who has achieved for himself imperishable honor by his indefatigable and disinterested efforts in the cause of this noble philanthropy, thus expresses himself in an address before the Colonization Society, at their fourteenth anniversary, which was as long ago as 1831 : “ Only nine years have elapsed since the little band of colonists landed at the cape, and a nation has already sprang into existence—a nation destined to secure to Ethiopia the fulfilment of the glorious prophecy made in her behalf. Already have kings thrown down their crowns at the feet of the infant republic, and formed with her a holy alliance, for the holy purpose of exchanging the guilty traffic in human flesh and blood for legitimate commerce, equal laws, civilization and religion.

‘ From many an ancient river,  
‘ From many a palmy plain,  
‘ They call us to deliver  
‘ Their land from error’s chain.’

They ask for schools, factories, churches. Nearly 2,000 freemen have kindled a beacon fire at Monrovia, to cast a broad blaze of light into the dark recesses of that benighted land ; and although much pains has been taken to overrate the cost, and undervalue the results, yet the annals of colonization may be triumphantly challenged for a parallel. Five years of preliminary operations were requisite for surveying the coast, propitiating the natives, and selecting the most eligible site ; numerous agents were subsequently employed, ships chartered, the forest cleared ; school-houses, factories, hospitals, churches, government buildings, and dwellings erected, and the many expenses requisite here defrayed ; and yet, for every \$50 expended by our Society from its commencement, we have not only a settler to show, but an ample and fertile territory in reserve, where our future emigrants may sit under their own vines and fig-trees with none

to make them afraid. During the last year, an amount nearly equal to the united expenditures in effecting these objects, has been exported by the colonists; and from Philadelphia alone, 11 vessels have sailed, bearing to the land of their forefathers a large number of slaves manumitted by the benevolence of their late owners." Much more may be said in reference to the greatness of the success of the colony at the present time.'

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## CONVERSATION XXII.

"The condition of Africa, just in proportion as she is improved, will reflect beneficial influences on our own country. As Africa rises in the scale of improvement, and sends over the earth a respect for her name and her people, so shall we look with increasing interest and sympathy upon her degraded children that are cast on our shores. And just in proportion as she emerges from barbarism, and puts on the garments of civilization, will she attract our colored people to return to her, and dispel the dread which is now common to them, of emigrating to a land of barbarism."—*Gerrit Smith.*

'THE unhealthiness of the climate, I suppose, is the greatest obstacle in the way of the prosperity of the colony at Liberia, is it not, Pa?' said Caroline, on the conversation being resumed.

'Liberia has the reputation among many of being unhealthy,' said Mr. L. 'If we should judge, however, only by the health of the natives on that part of the African coast, we should suppose it to be far otherwise. It is healthy to acclimated emigrants. When once acclimated, it is said by those who are competent to decide, and who could have



no inducement to make an erroneous report, that Africa proves a more genial climate to the men of color than any portion of the United States. They enjoy, in Liberia, even now, a greater immunity from sickness, and the proportion of deaths is less than in Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New-York.'

'Have not a great proportion of those who have emigrated died soon after their arrival?'

'It was to be expected that during the early years of the colony many deaths would occur for want of suitable houses; on account of the fatigue and danger to which the colonists were necessarily exposed; and in consequence of the irregular mode of life at first almost unavoidable.

'An unfortunate selection was made for the *first* emigrants, which increased the mortality among them. They found it impossible to obtain at that time a more suitable place, and were compelled, by a variety of untoward circumstances, to make a temporary establishment in the low, unhealthy island of Sherbro. While here detained, endeavoring to purchase land, they were attacked by fatal disease, which carried off the agent of the Society and twenty out of eighty emigrants, together with two agents sent out by the United States Government. The second expedition also suffered much by sickness and death. And deaths were also frequent among the colonists on their first arrival, for some time. From 1827 to 1832, however, five years, not one person in forty of those from the middle and southern States died in Liberia from the change of climate. And *later* experience has proved that no unusual danger is to be apprehended by any who are sober, and have no radical defect of constitution.

'There is to me one consideration which amidst all that has been most discouraging in the early mortality of the African colony, has been comforting. It is this: whilst the mortality is to be attributed but partially to causes which cannot be controlled, the evil was *limited to a single*

*generation* : but the good accomplished by colonization is to bless *all succeeding generations*. The natives of no country enjoy better health than those of Africa; and the children born to those who emigrate, will be Africans, and know nothing of the dangers which their forefathers may have encountered.

‘The settlement of new places is generally attended with trials by sickness. What is the fact in respect to the now flourishing state of Louisiana? The colony of Iberville was begun to be settled in 1699, and in the ensuing thirteen years 2,500 colonists were landed there, out of whom only 400 whites and 20 negroes remained at the end of that time; on the Island of Orleans, where a settlement was begun in 1717, the early settlers died by hundreds; and both settlements were given up once or twice, by those who began them, and commenced anew by other hands. It was so with Jamestown, Virginia; it was so with Plymouth, Massachusetts, although in a northern climate. These both were desolated by sickness, and the mortality was far greater than it has ever been in Liberia. Five hundred emigrants at one time landed in Jamestown, and in less than five months their numbers were reduced to sixty. Disaster and defeat seemed to embitter all the struggles of the Pilgrim fathers at Plymouth. More than half their number died the first winter. And yet from the two feeble settlements, at Plymouth and Jamestown, has sprung a population which, in spite of discouragements, have erected towns, cities, and an empire!

‘It has been remarked in regard to these early trials of colonies, by the eloquent and excellent Frelinghuysen, that “such has been the course of divine Providence with all colonies, of which either sacred or profane history affords us any account, that He intended to cherish or establish. It is the moral and mental discipline which God would prescribe; it is the discipline, of all others, calculated to throw the human mind upon its own resources—to try its

strength—to call into action its powers, and, if there be energy within or about it, it will be called into action. It tries its strength—its patience—its fortitude. In fact all the sterner virtues are *created* by this scheme of colonization. And it teaches, above all, other lessons, for man to learn, his deep dependence on Divine power. How was it with the Jews, who were a called and *chosen people*? Were they not subjected to trials and difficulties? How did God act toward them. After years of gloom yand grinding bondage in Egypt, did he not send them to the land of promise? He knew they were degraded and debased by moral and corporeal bondage. And indeed their debasement we clearly learn from their complaints. He put them to the trials which await colonization. He led them through the howling wilderness. He required them to endure fatigue—to meet the enemy's onslaught. In the Divine wisdom and mercy they were subjected to these conflicts, dangers and terrors, both by night and by day. And when discipline had done its office, and when liberty and the promised land were in view, (and even then, they enjoyed not a bed of down,) even then they were to contend for every inch of land they were about to acquire."

'In respect to Liberia, however, we are not reduced to the necessity of reasoning from analogy; we have *facts*: colonies may be established on the coast of Africa, for colonies have been established there, and are flourishing. The English colony at Sierra Leone, after many sad reverses in its infancy, is now a thriving territory with 40,000 inhabitants. It was founded under the most unfavorable circumstances, those who first composed it, coming from a northern latitude, Nova Scotia, or the streets of London. Besides, bad habits prevailed among them, and did more for their destruction than the climate.

'This colony has ever been cherished by Christians and philanthropists in England, and is still, as an institution, full of promise to Africa, and one that has conferred signal bless-

ings on those who were once outcasts in Britain, although it has known no such prosperity as has attended the colonizing of Liberia. The Liberian colonies are no longer an experiment; their present condition is such that they speak for themselves, a disproof of all the predictions that doomed them to destruction, and all the calumnies that pronounced the enterprise a failure.'

'There is great misapprehension in the public mind, I should think,' said C. 'in regard to difficulties generally attendant upon the beginning of new settlements; and especially in regard to the difficulties which, in its first beginning, the colony of Liberia was called to encounter, as contrasted with those of similar enterprises.'

'There is,' said Mr. L. and yet, so far are the trials of Liberia from being greater than has been the usual lot of similar enterprises, that the contrast is surprisingly in its favor. In fact, comparing its success with some other establishments, we may safely say that, after all that has been adverse, if a remarkable protection afforded the colony from enemies without, and exemption from the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and the destruction that wasteth at noon-day, as well also from internal discord and convulsion, is any evidence of the favor of Providence, that colony surely enjoys the Divine favor.

'I will advert again to the early history of other colonies, for the facts in the case, and the instruction and encouragement which they furnish, are greatly important. If we look to Virginia, the situation and prospects of the Virginia colony in 1610, the first settlement of which was attempted in 1585, and to which numerous reinforcements were despatched from time to time during a term of twenty-five years, are thus depicted by Dr. Holmes, in his American Annals: "Smith left the colony furnished with three ships, good fortifications, twenty-five pieces of cannon, arms, ammunition, apparel, commodities for trading, and tools for all kinds of labor. At Jamestown there were nearly sixty

houses. The settlers had begun to plant and to fortify at five or six other places. The number of inhabitants was nearly five hundred. They had just gathered in their Indian harvest, and, besides, had considerable provision in their stores. They had between five and six hundred hogs, an equal number of fowls, some goats, and some sheep. They had also boats, nets, and good accommodations for fishing. But such was the sedition, idleness, and dissipation of this mad people, that they were soon reduced to the most miserable circumstances. No sooner was Captain Smith gone, than the savages, provoked by their dissolute practices, and encouraged by their want of government, revolted, hunted them from place to place, and slew them. Nansemond, the plantation at the falls, and all the out-settlements, were abandoned. In a short time nearly forty of the company were cut off by the enemy. Their time and provisions were consumed in riot; their utensils were stolen or destroyed; their hogs, sheep, and fowls killed and carried off by the Indians. The sword without, and famine and sickness within, soon made among them surprising destruction. Within the term of six months, of their whole number, 500 persons, sixty only survived! These were mostly poor, famishing wretches, subsisting chiefly on herbs, acorns, and berries. Such was the famine, that they fed on the skins of their dead horses; nay, they boiled and eat the flesh of the dead. Indeed, they were reduced to such extremity, that had they not been relieved, the whole colony, in eight or ten days, would have been extinct. Such are the dire effects of idleness, faction, and want of proper subordination." The English, in fact, made four attempts to colonize Virginia before they succeeded. Once, after a year's trial, the whole surviving remnant of the colony was transported back to England.

‘If we turn our mind to North Carolina, which was settled in 1663, we find that in 1694, “the list of taxables did not exceed 787, being little more than half the number

that were there in 1677, seventeen years before. Such," Williamson continues, "were the baneful effects of rapine, anarchy, and idleness."

'In the Plymouth colony, commenced in 1620, besides the mortality in which we have before adverted, that swept off half their number in the first six months, they were subject to much inconvenience by reason of "false brethren," and were "often in great straits with the Indians."\* A slight knowledge of the early history of the "Pilgrims" will suffice to show a strong contrast in favor of Liberia, so far as the early difficulties of founding the colony are regarded. At Plymouth they received frequent reinforcements, and yet there remained but 300 colonists in the year 1639. Two hundred persons, out of fifteen hundred that came with John Winthrop to Boston in 1630, died in six months! A sensible writer has well said, "what incalculable benefits had been lost to the world, had the first settlers of these United States retired faint and despairing from our shores at the first blow and shock of calamity? God be praised for their firmness of heart!"

'Another consideration has been one of interest to me, amidst all discouraging reports concerning the health of the first emigrants; if colonies can be once planted along the

\* In Liberia, in no instance, have the natives, from whom the land was purchased, been required to remove their residences, or to abandon their usual customs, except that of trading in slaves, and the practice of such superstitious rites or ceremonies as tend to deprive any of their fellow beings of life. And in all the written contracts which have been entered into between the Agents of the Colonization Society and the native chiefs, the latter have invariably obligated themselves, in behalf of the people over whom they preside, to conform to the laws and regulations of the Liberia government. No lands have been wrested from them; no privileges denied them. I would that we could say as much in honor of the New-England Pilgrims; and especially that history did not tell us of multitudes of poor Indians exiled to foreign lands and sold as slaves!!!



shores of Africa, and the slave-trade cut off, a vast sacrifice of life will thereby be prevented. In a single slave-ship, more persons have perished, often in indescribable agony, than have died from the influence of climate since the origin of the colony of Liberia. The slave-trade, it has been well remarked by Judge Story, of Massachusetts, "desolates whole villages and provinces. The blood of thousands of the miserable children of Africa has stained her shores, or quenched the dying embers of her desolated towns to glut the appetite of slave-dealers. The ocean has received in its deep and silent bosom, thousands more, who perished from disease and want, during their passage from their native homes" to foreign climes.\*

\* An officer of the United States squadron on the coast of Africa, writes, in 1851, to a friend in Boston: "I am aware that there are many persons in New-England who view the Colonization scheme as visionary if not in fact prejudicial to the interests of the slave and the cause of humanity, and who consequently regard it, some with indifference, and others with inveterate hostility. I feel assured, that if such persons could but realize a tithe of the good which this noble but unpretending institution has accomplished and is accomplishing, their opposition would cease, and they must, from their hearts, wish the work God-speed. I have not the slightest doubt that, for every slave which abolitionism has rescued from bondage, Colonization has prevented the enslavement of thousands. The vast importance of the Colonization agency in suppressing the slave-trade, is too manifest to doubt. Within the colonial jurisdiction, embracing an extent of three hundred miles of coast, not a slave is exported, the preventive measures being the moral influence of the settlers, and their wholesome laws, with the casual visits of foreign vessels of war; while upon the same extent of territory between Popo and Calabar, the annual shipments are believed to exceed fifty thousand, and made, too, in the very teeth of full one half of the British African squadron, including several very fine steam-ships, concentrated in the Bights of Benin and Biafra. In my own mind, the best and only sure method of suppressing the disgraceful traffic is, by planting and fostering such establishments as the American Colonies. I believe it is capable of demonstration, that since the formation of the American Colonization Society, the real, practical effects of its very limited instrumentalities in putting down the slave-trade, have been greater than those of the

‘It has been ascertained that an average of not less than 100,000 per annum have been transported from Africa, and that half the number have ordinarily died within two years, either during the passage or seasoning. *Fifty thousand* deaths every year, occasioned by the *slave-trade*! In the name of humanity and of our holy religion, then, we may ask every one to judge whether the glorious work of establishing civilized and Christian colonies along the coast of Africa shall be abandoned, because some few suffer and die in efforts to redeem themselves, and save their dying fellow-men? The amount of suffering *prevented*, and the lives saved by the American Colonization Society, is incalculable; vastly more than all the sacrifice of life, and all the sufferings or privations which will be ever endured, in accomplishing the regeneration of that great continent, and the salvation of generation after generation of untold millions.

‘To be useful, is to be blessed. And our Saviour has said, “It is more blessed to give than to receive.” They who laid the foundations of the colony at Liberia, will testify that they have already reaped a rich reward for all their toils. They will unitedly declare that the blessings now theirs, have a value far beyond the price they cost. When they look to the future—when they consider the privileges and blessings secured to their posterity, they feel that the worth of these is inestimable. And they who fell martyrs in sounding the trump of jubilee in the land of the oppressed—in a land of comparative barbarism; to call the nations

British Government for the same purpose, with an expenditure of not less than a *hundred millions sterling*. From Cape Mount on the north, to Cavally on the south—a part of the coast once, and recently, too, notorious only for the extent of this nefarious traffic—the soil is now unpolluted by the slave-dealer. Where once stood the barracoen, to receive the coffles of slaves, now stands a temple dedicated to the living God; and where once were heard only the lamentations and wail of the victims of wrong and oppression, is now heard the voice of praise and thanksgiving, ascending to the common God and Father of all, from a free, independent, and happy people.”

forth to the light and blessings of civilized life—in a land of blood and crime; to hold up before the people the sign of the cross, that purity and peace, the hope of immortal glory and everlasting songs of salvation, may supplant the dark influence of the destroyer of souls; have fallen in a noble attempt, and will be held in grateful remembrance by generations yet unborn.

‘A very sensible address is now before me, adopted “at a numerous meeting of the citizens of Monrovia,” in Liberia, which speaks well to the point. The meeting, it seems, was called, and held at the court-house in Monrovia, in 1827, “for the purpose of considering the expediency of uniting in an address to the colored people of the United States.” In the address they say, “We enjoy health, after a few months’ residence in this country, as uniformly, and in as perfect a degree as we possessed that blessing in our native country. Death occasionally takes a victim from our number, without any regard at all to his residence in the country; but we never hoped by leaving America to escape the common lot of mortals. But we do expect to live as long, and pass this life with as little sickness as yourselves. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in the colony; nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. The change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one—too great not to affect the health more or less. In the early years of the colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness which prevailed to an alarming extent, and was attended with great mortality. But we look back to those times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten.”’

‘I have no doubt,’ said Caroline, ‘that after the first season, Liberia is a delightful climate for the blacks. They have constitutions probably better adapted to that climate than to ours.’

‘Yes, Caroline, the colored man, going to Africa, goes to the land of his fathers, for a residence in which nature has peculiarly fitted him. We should sicken and die where the native African, invigorated under the influence of a vertical sun, glories in its blaze, and grapples with the lion of the desert. Expose the African to the cold blasts of the northern clime, he shivers and drags out a miserable existence, while the white man can bare his bosom to the blast. “Nature,” says Mr. Custis, “seems to draw a line of demarcation between the country of the white man and the black.”\*

‘It sometimes has been said that Europeans will, notwithstanding the planting of colonies along the coast, and after all that can be done for Africa, hold the mouths of the rivers emptying round the Cape of Western Africa; and

\* There seems to be a peculiar fitness in placing the negro in Africa, when it is recollected that large portions of its immense tracts are suited only to *his* constitution. The white man will languish and die beneath a sun which is congenial to the nature of the black man. Nature herself, therefore, would seem to concur with philanthropy, unless it be thought that she designed those regions, which are so well calculated for the residence of the latter, and for him only, to lie waste and uninhabited.”—*Tyson*.

“If we look to that well-marked and vast peninsula, we find that equally marked race, the negro, with slight modifications, forming its native population throughout all its regions. We find the temperature of his blood, the chemical action of his skin, the very texture of his wool hair, all fitting him for the vertical sun of Africa; and if every surviving African of the present day who is living in degradation and destitution in other lands, for which he never was intended, was actually restored to the peculiar land of his peculiar race, in independence and comfort, would any man venture to affirm, that Christianity has been lost sight of by all who had in any ways contributed to such a consummation? It matters not to brotherly love on which side of the Atlantic the negro is made enlightened, virtuous, and happy, if he is actually so far blessed; but it *does* matter on which side of the ocean you place him, when there is ONLY ONE WHERE HE WILL BE HAPPY AND RESPECTABLE as benevolence would wish to see him, and certainly *there*, a rightly applied morality and religion would sanction his being placed.”—*Edinburgh Phrenological Journal*.

that the African will always, therefore, be measurably under the influence of a promiscuous white population. To me, however, it seems most obvious, that the elastic pressure of a colored population in Africa will, and must ultimately exclude all other people. God evidently designs Africa for the colored man. By law in Liberia now, no white person is allowed to become a citizen ; consequently, white residents cannot hold any office in the Government. This constitutional provision was hardly necessary, though it may be wise. It is the land of the colored ; and we confidently say of Africa,

“ Despite of every yoke she bears,  
“ That land of glory still is theirs.”

The advantage in physical constitution which the blacks will enjoy, is one which will give them decided superiority to all other people as occupants of the soil. The puny and sickly colonies of other nations can never compete with them. The sceptre of influence will, without a doubt, be ultimately wielded in Africa by those whom heaven has appointed to wield it, the blacks themselves ; Africa will receive its character chiefly, I have no doubt, from emigrants going from our own shores.

‘ We must now close the subject for the present. Each of us, I trust, in conclusion, can say from the heart, of that vast, injured, benighted, but awaking continent,

“ Oh ! to thy godlike destiny arise—  
“ Awake, and meet the purpose of the skies !” ’

## CONVERSATION XXIII.

“The removal of our colored population is, I think, a common object, by no means confined to the slave States, although they are more immediately interested in it. The whole Union would be strengthened by it, and relieved from a danger whose extent can scarcely be estimated.”—*Marshall*.

‘You observed in your last conversation,’ said Henry, ‘that agents of the Government of the United States went out with the first emigrants sent to Africa by the Colonization Society: why were agents sent by the United States?’

‘In the act of Congress for the suppression of the slave-trade, passed in the year 1807, there was a clause by which negroes brought into the United States, in consequence of the law authorizing the capture of vessels engaged in the slave-trade, were to be “subject to any regulations not contravening the provisions of the act, which the legislatures of the several States and Territories might make for the disposing of such negroes.” By an act of the Georgia legislature, in 1817, captured negroes brought into Georgia in pursuance of the aforesaid act of Congress, were to be sold, or delivered to the Colonization Society to be returned to Africa. A slaver containing thirty-eight negroes was captured by one of the United States vessels, and brought into Georgia. The negroes were, according to law, advertised for sale. The Colonization Society, availing itself of the provisions of the law above referred to, applied for the slaves to be returned to Africa, paid, as was necessary, the expenses incurred on their account, and rescued the victims of piratical cupidity from perpetual slavery. Cases of this kind having previously occurred, had directed the attention of Congress to the necessity of providing somewhere an asylum for recaptured negroes, and a law had been enacted



authorizing the President to make such regulation and arrangements as he might deem expedient for their safe-keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States, and also to appoint a proper person or persons residing on the coast of Africa, as agent or agents, in the fulfilment of such arrangements in respect to all negroes seized by United States' vessels. It was thought that the ends of this act could be better accomplished by the aid of the Colonization Society; and accordingly, the first expedition to Liberia in 1820, was, by the Colonization Society and the United States Government, in conjunction. The Elizabeth was chartered, and took to the coast two Government agents, one Colonial agent, and about eighty emigrants, the latter of whom were to be employed at the expense of the Government in preparing accommodations for the reception of the recaptured negroes.'

'This expedition, Sir, you remarked, were very unfortunate in their location, which you said was on the river Sherbro: was that in what was afterwards called Liberia?'

'No, Henry; it was 200 miles north of Liberia's former limits, and 100 miles south of Sierra Leone. It was not until 1822 that a permanent location was obtained at Capo Mesurado.'

'The colony had much difficulty with the natives at its commencement, had it not?'

'They had; and perhaps it has been correctly said that no struggle of ancient or modern times surpasses the defence which that little band of colonists made. The lamented Ashmun, forced in opposition to all his habits and feelings, to become a warlike commander, acquitted himself in a manner that discovered military skill of the highest order. Without ever aspiring to military renown, he shone forth, a hero in arms, whose coolness, firmness, wisdom and courage could hardly be surpassed. The little band of thirty-five African emigrants, about one half of whom only were engaged in action, were threatened by a host whose numbers

were untold, and destruction seemed inevitable. The slave-dealers on the coast had instigated the natives to exterminate the colony. Ashmun was himself sick of fever; and was, besides, in great affliction, having just buried his wife, an amiable and heroic woman, who insisted on sharing her husband's toils and dangers in Africa; but, notwithstanding, he rose from the bed of sickness, and day by day after tossing with the delirium of a burning fever through the night, spent his time in directing his little band in constructing their hasty and imperfect defences, and teaching them to manage their artillery, and how to succor each other in their defence. The result was, the enemy was successfully repulsed, and the colony was saved from destruction; whilst such an impression was made on the natives as put to rest, probably, for ever, any thought of a similar attempt.'

'I suppose,' said Henry, 'it is in reference to this exploit particularly, that Ashmun is sometimes called the founder of the colony of Liberia? Mr. Ashmun died at New Haven—I have seen his monument—he died soon after arriving there from Liberia for his health. But, falling a victim to his devotion to the cause of colonization, I am sure that he nobly died, in a noble cause.'

'Yes: Mr. Ashmun's great and untiring efforts continuing through nearly six years of constant anxiety and labor in Africa, destroyed his physical constitution and brought him to a *premature* grave; but he fell *nobly*. Mr. Ashmun's life, so far at least as is connected with Africa, in which we are now more particularly interested, you will find full of interest.'

'Where was Mr. Ashmun from, Pa, and how came he to embark in the colonization cause, as an agent to Africa?'

'Mr. A. whose Christian name was Jehudi, was born in Champlain, New-York, in 1794. I will relate, if you please, some of the leading incidents of his history, as they occur on recollection. In his childhood Mr. A. was thoughtful and reserved, remarkably fond of books, and ambitious of lite-

rary distinction. In his studies he made rapid progress. He became a devoted Christian in the morning of his days. He graduated at Burlington College, and soon after entering the ministry was elected Professor in the Theological Seminary at Bangor. After leaving that Seminary he became a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He prepared the Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Bacon, the earliest martyr in the cause of colonization; and, after other efforts to advance the cause, by which his feelings were more and more deeply interested, he embarked for Africa in 1822. In Africa he found himself unexpectedly in a situation where he must be of necessity legislator, engineer, soldier, physician; almost every thing that was needed, his benevolent heart inclined, and his superior talents enabled him to be. Emphatically a good man, he enjoyed the confidence of the colonists, and of the Board, and shared in the warmest affections of all that knew him.

‘The scene, at his death, is represented as one of true moral sublimity. He died, as you have said, at New Haven, a few days after his return from Africa, whose shores he had left with feeble health, hoping to find the voyage and a short residence in his native country conducive to its restoration. It was otherwise ordered. His last moments were spent in fervent prayer. Africa was not forgotten. “*O bless the colony,*” was his cry, “*and that poor people among whom I have labored.*”

‘He has left a name to be remembered by generations to come, when many who may now be far more conspicuous will be forgotten. The gratitude of the Colonization Society\* directed the monument to his memory which you

\* A monument has also been raised to his memory in Liberia. The monument at New Haven is after the model of an ancient monument still in perfection at Rome. “the tomb of Scipio.” Dr. Silliman describes it as “grave, grand, simple, and beautiful.” It is constructed of the Connecticut red sand stone, of the finer variety, seven feet long, four high, three and a half wide, raised on a foun-

saw at New Haven, but his best monument is in the hearts of the people, and that record of him which is on high.

“Although no sculptured form should deck the place,  
 “Or marble monument those ashes grace,  
 “Still, for the deeds of worth, which he has done,  
 “Would flowers unfading flourish o’er his tomb.”

‘A favorite poetess has embalmed his memory,’ said Caroline: ‘shall I repeat her words?’

“Whose is yon sable bier?  
 Why move the throng so slow?  
 Why doth that lonely mother’s tear,  
 In sudden anguish flow?  
 Why is that sleeper laid  
 To rest, in manhood’s pride?  
 How gain’d his cheek such pallid shade?  
 I spake—but none replied.

“The hoarse wave murmured low,  
 The distant surges roar’d—  
 And o’er the sea, in tones of wo,  
 A deep response was poured.  
 I heard sad Afric mourn  
 Upon her billowy strand;  
 A shield was from her bosom torn,  
 An anchor from her hand.

“Ah! well I know thee now,  
 Though foreign suns would trace  
 Deep lines of death upon thy brow—  
 Thou friend of misery’s race;

dation of one foot. It is said above, that the gratitude of the Colonization Society directed this monument; but it is believed and should be stated that the whole expense was borne by the spontaneous contributions and united liberality of friends of humanity and religion, preventing the necessity of making any appropriation towards it from the funds of the Society, and at the same time furnishing a most honorable attestation of the gratitude and respect with which his devotion to the best interest of the world is regarded, and of the sincere affection with which his memory is cherished by those ‘who have learned to love and to admire the sublimity and glory of virtue.’

Their leader, when the blast  
Of ruthless war swept by ;  
Their teacher, when the storm was past,  
Their guide to worlds on high.

" But o'er the lowly tomb,  
Where thy soul's idol lay,  
I saw thee rise above the gloom,  
And hold thy changeless way.  
Stern sickness woke a flame,  
That on thy vigor fed—  
But deathless courage nerv'd the frame,  
When health and strength had fled.

" Spirit of power—pass on !  
Thy homeward wing is free ;  
Earth may not claim thee for her son—  
She hath no chain for thee :  
Toil might not bow thee down,  
Nor sorrow check thy race—  
Nor pleasure win thy birthright crown,—  
Go to thy honor'd place !"

'If I recollect,' said Caroline, 'the colony has since had to encounter difficulties similar to those in which Mr. Ashman distinguished himself?'

'Yes, in one instance only were they serious. In December 1834 the Young Man's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania landed the first colonists sent out by them at Bassa Cove; the purchase of territory from the natives had been completed a few days before; and it was the very spot where a slave-factory had stood, and from whence no less than five hundred victims had been shipped during one month preceding. The number of emigrants was 126. Such was the zeal and energy of these colonists, that by the first day of January next succeeding, a plot of ground had been cleared and a house erected for the agency family, and within six months the whole colony were comfortably located, eighteen houses having been erected by them for their own accommodation; "the lots around them present-

ing a bright prospect of luxuriant crops of various kinds ;” and ten additional houses to receive the emigrants expected by a second expedition. Besides these, the agents had caused to be “prepared a large and substantial Government-house, 20 feet by 50, and two stories high, with a well stocked garden of two acres, substantially enclosed, and had cleared upwards of forty acres of land ; he had also a smith-shop, with a pit of coal, nearly ready for operation ; a kiln of lime burned, and six head of cattle procured and partially broken to the yoke.” An extensive and kindly intercourse was opened with surrounding tribes ; and promises obtained even from the more distant, of the extirpation of the traffic in human flesh and blood. The location “was admirably adapted, commanding the mouth of the St. John’s River, and the only harbor occurring for many miles round, to repress that nefarious traffic along a considerable portion of coast.”

‘This colony, so favorably commenced, was destined to meet with a sudden and very grievous discouragement and suspension. A slaver arriving in the vicinity, operated upon the cupidity of one of the chieftains in the neighborhood, and by the guilty use of ardent spirits, urged him to an attack upon the unsuspecting colony. Three men, four women, and thirteen children, were massacred in one night, and the remainder were obliged to take refuge at Monrovia.’

‘It should here be remarked that the principles on which the Pennsylvania Society based their action was “1. Entire temperance in every colonist: 2. Total abstinence from trade in ardent spirits and arts of war: 3. An immediate Christian influence and operation upon surrounding heathen: All designed to accomplish the second article of (its) constitution, ‘to provide for civilizing and christianizing Africa, through the direct instrumentality of colored emigrants from the United States.’

‘Might not this dreadful catastrophe have been avoided



if the colony had been prepared with fire-arms and other instruments of defence ?

‘It probably might. It is believed by those who have knowledge of the character of the surrounding tribes, that the very fact of the colonists being possessed of the means of defence, operates in accordance with the spirit and language of the constitution of the Society, as “a dissuasion from warfare.” It was not to be expected that the slavers would regard any attempts to plant colonies on the coast, with other feeling than hostility ; for the slave-trade cannot long survive amid salutary influences of the civilized and Christian colonies on the surrounding pagan darkness. The chief who was engaged in the attack upon the colony, afterwards expressed contrition for his conduct, and gave solemn assurances of a desire for peace ; and the colony, which was at once amply furnished with the means of defence, but instructed to carry out the original design of the enterprise by prosecuting the humane and benevolent purposes originally contemplated, “in a spirit of affectionate regard for the best interest of the natives,” using “every effort for the preservation of the most friendly relations with them.” They have never since been molested ; and the colonies now have nothing to fear. The slavers must retire before the light of civilization and the influence of agriculture and commerce.’

‘Mr. Buchanan, late governor of the colony, in a letter to the corresponding secretary of the Pennsylvania Society, has said, “You may congratulate yourself on your steadfast affection for Bassa Cove, for indeed it is a paradise. The climate is absolutely good—the soil prolific and various in its productions—the rivers abound in excellent fish and very superior oysters, and the water is pure and wholesome. Our position is somewhat remarkable, having a river in our rear, the ocean in front, and the magnificent St. John’s sweeping past on our right. The luxuriant and various foliage which overhangs the banks of the river, and recedes

back into the interminable forests, gives a perpetual freshness to the scene which ever animates and gladdens the beholder. In America it is difficult to conceive of African scenery without picturing to our imagination a plentiful supply of burning sand, with here and there a fiery serpent; but what a pleasing reversion the feelings undergo when for the first time we witness the reality; then the arid scene with its odious accompaniments is exchanged for the broad river of blue waters, the stately forest, and the ever-verdant landscape, and all nature charms with her ever-varying, yet ever-beautiful and living riches.”’

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## CONVERSATION XXIV.

“We must plead the cause of Africa on her own shores. We must enlighten the Africans themselves on the nature of this evil. We must raise in their minds a fixed abhorrence of its enormities. There will be no ships with human cargoes if we cut off the supply. We must by our settlements point the African kidnapper to a more profitable commerce than that in the blood and heart-strings of his fellow-men.”—*Frelinghuysen*.

‘We would like to know this evening, Pa, something more of Liberia.

‘Do the colonists pay proper attention to education, and have they any considerable literary advantages?’

‘The subject of education was ever of primary importance with the Board of Colonization, and the interests of literature were promoted as far as circumstances would permit. In 1830 the Board established permanent schools in the towns of Monrovia, Caldwell, and Millsburgh. They adopted a thorough system of instruction, which is now in

successful operation. It is said that there is not a child or youth in the colony but is provided with an appropriate school. Some of these schools have valuable libraries. There is a public library at Monrovia which contains between 1200 and 2000 volumes. The press is in operation there, and it is interesting to look over the "Liberia Herald," and see its discussions of important subjects, as well as the various advertisements, notices of auctions, parades, marriages, &c. together with its marine list, and items of news, as if the print were issued from the midst of an old and long established community.\*

'I do not see but they have in Liberia the elements of wealth and greatness. They are beginning to be a commercial community; and with an agricultural interior in prospect, and they a civilized and Christian people, what is there to prevent their ultimate prosperity?'

'Their prospects are bright, Henry, very bright. Their progress, hitherto, has certainly been rapid and truly wonderful. Dr. Shane, of Cincinnati, went with a company of emigrants to Liberia in 1832, sailing from New Orleans; and, among other things, writes, "I see not in Liberia as fine and splendid mansions as in the United States; nor as extensive and richly stocked farms as the well tilled lands of Ohio; but I see a fine and very fertile country, inviting its poor and oppressed sons to thrust in their sickles and gather up its fullness. I here see many who left the

\* There has been laid the foundation of a noble academy at Monrovia, under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which will go into operation the present year, 1852. The Alexander High School, which, with suitable classical and philosophical apparatus, and an iron building, went into operation last year, is now prosperously employed, with a large catalogue of scholars, under the charge of Rev. B. V. R. James, who has been usefully employed as a teacher in Africa thirteen years. Thus is God raising up the educational influences which will aid in perfecting the institutions of the Republic, and affording to the emigrant from the United States even better means than he can enjoy in our own land.

United States in straightened circumstances, living with all the comforts of life around them; enjoying a respectable and useful station in society, and wondering that their brethren in the United States, who have it in their power, do not flee to this asylum of happiness and liberty, where they can enjoy all the unalienable rights of man. I do not think an unprejudiced person can visit here without becoming an ardent and sincere friend of colonization. I can attribute the apathy and indifference on which it is looked by many, as arising from ignorance on the subject alone, and would that every free colored man in the United States could get a glimpse of his brethren, their situation and prospects. Let but the colored man come and see for himself, and the tear of gratitude will beam in his eye, as he looks forward to the not far distant day when Liberia shall take her stand among the nations of the world, and proclaim abroad an empire founded by benevolence, offering a home to the poor, oppressed, and weary. Nothing but a want of knowledge of Liberia prevents thousands of honest, industrious free blacks from rushing to this heaven-blessed land, where liberty and religion, with all their blessings, are enjoyed.”

‘Are the colonists generally contented and happy in their situation?’

‘Captain Kennedy, who visited Liberia in 1831, says, “with impressions unfavorable to the scheme of the Colonization Society, I commenced my inquiries.” The colonists “considered that they had started into a *new existence*. They felt themselves *proud in their attitude*.” He further says, “many of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property; and I have no doubt they are doing better for themselves and for their children, in Liberia, than they could do in any other part of the world.” Captain Nicholson, of the United States’ Navy, gave as favorable a report. Captain Abels says, “My expectations were more than realized. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane

word uttered by any one. I know of no place where the Sabbath seems to be more respected than in Monrovia."

'A distinguished British naval officer, who passed three years on the African coast, published a favorable notice of the colony in the *Amulet* for 1832, in which he bears this testimony:—"The complete success of this colony is a proof that the negroes are, by proper care and attention, as susceptible of the habits of industry, and the improvements of social life, as any other race of human beings; and that the amelioration of the condition of the black people on the coast of Africa, by means of such colonies, is not chimerical. Wherever the influence of the colony extends, the slave-trade has been abandoned by the natives, and the peaceable pursuits of legitimate commerce established in its place. They not only live on terms of harmony and good will together, but the colonists are looked upon with a certain degree of respect by those of their own color; and the force of their example is likely to have a strong effect in inducing the people about them to adopt it. A few colonies of this kind, scattered along the coast, would be of infinite value in improving the natives."

'Governor Mechlin said, "As to the morals of the colonists; I consider them much better than those of the people of the United State; you may take an equal number of the inhabitants from any section of the Union, and you will find more drunkenness, more profane swearers and Sabbath-breakers, than in Liberia. You rarely hear an oath, and as to riots and breaches of the peace, I recollect but one instance, and that of a trifling nature, that has come under my notice since I assumed the government of the colony." Captain Sherman has said, "There is a greater proportion of moral and religious characters in Monrovia than in the city of Philadelphia."

'The Rev. Beverly R. Wilson, an intelligent colored minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, spent fourteen months in Liberia, which he visited at his own expense, to

ascertain whether he could find there an advantageous home for himself and family. His statements are received by all who know him, as entitled from his character to entire confidence. On his return in 1835, he says, "Liberia for eligibility of situation is not often excelled, and the facilities held out for a comfortable living, rarely equalled; industry and economy are sure to be rewarded and crowned with a generous competency, for proof of which I cite you to a Williams, to a Roberts, to a Barbour. The successful prosecution of any enterprise in Africa, (as in America,) depends to a very great extent upon the amount of capital invested—money is power every where, but particularly so in Africa; and he who emigrates thither with capital, possesses decided and very great advantages over every other class of emigrants; a small capital I esteem of paramount importance, and would by all means persuade my colored friends, who intend to emigrate, to provide themselves with the means to commence business previous to going. This I esteem of vital importance, and ought not to be neglected. The soil of Africa is exceedingly fertile, and will produce as much to the acre as the famous lands of the great valley of the Mississippi. Fruits of several kinds are abundant, and from experiments made, most of the tropical fruits succeed as well as in their native clime. But little attention thus far has been paid to agriculture, owing to the fact that but few emigrants possess the means to embark in it. The cultivation of the land is attended with the same expense there as here, and the same obstacles present themselves to persons destitute of money. Timber of various descriptions abounds, some of which would not for beauty and durability lose by a comparison with the mahogany of St. Domingo, or of any other country. I have seen articles of cabinet ware manufactured in Monrovia that would grace our most fashionable houses, and would vie for beauty and taste with most of the same articles made in this country. As it regards the health of



the colony, I consider it as good as that of most of the Southern States. The Aborigines live to an advanced period, and are unquestionably the most athletic, hardy race of men that I have ever seen. They are remarkably shrewd and cunning, and are very far from being those "dolts" or "idiots" which they have been represented to be; many of them read and write, and are very frequently an overmatch for the colonists in trade. \* \* The morals of the colonists I regard as superior to the same population in almost any part of the United States. A drunkard is a rare spectacle, and when exhibited is put under the ban of public opinion at once. To the praise of Liberia, be it spoken, I did not hear during my residence in it, a solitary oath uttered by a settler; this abominable practice has not yet stained its moral character and reputation, and heaven grant that it never may. In such detestation is the daily use of ardent spirits held, that two of the towns have already prohibited its sale, or rather confined the sale to the apothecaries' shops. In Monrovia it is still viewed as an article of traffic and merchandise, but it is destined there to share the same fate. The Temperance Society is in full operation, and will ere long root it out. The Sabbath is rigidly observed and respected, and but few cases occur of disorder, and they are confined to the baser sorts, a few of which infest Liberia. Religion and all its institutions are greatly respected; in fact a decided majority are Religionists, and by their pious demeanor are exerting a very salutary influence, not only upon the emigrants but also upon the natives, among whom a door has been opened for the propagation of Christianity."\*

\* Mr. Wilson, addressing himself to the colored people in this country, concludes by saying, "If you desire liberty, surely Liberia holds out great and distinguished inducements. Here you can never be free; but there, living under the administration of the laws enacted by yourselves, you may enjoy that freedom

‘Dr. Skinner, formerly Governor of Liberia, who returned to this country, November, 1836, in his report to the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, says, “The industry of the colonists is evidently on the increase, and their attention has of late been especially turned towards agriculture. Several of the colonists have, during the past season, raised corn and rice in considerable quantities, and some are beginning to cultivate the cotton plant and sugar cane, while others are preparing extensive coffee plantations.” Dr. S. says further, “The mortality has been less than it has been generally estimated, and greatly less than took place in the colonization of this country.” Dr. S. says, that he “laid out one hundred and sixteen farms for the New Georgians,” whilst he was with the colony, and further, “I visited New Georgia a few days before I left the colony, and was pleased to see the increased energy with which they had cultivated their lands, and the luxuriant crops of corn, cassada, rice and potatoes, with which their ground was covered, which but a few months before was impassable to man. The sight was an ample compensation for all my toils, and all my sufferings. It is believed, by those who are well able to judge, that these industrious citizens, in the past season, have raised four times the crops that they have obtained in any previous year.”

‘Mr. Buchanan, Governor of the Colony at Bassa Cove, represented the colonists as prosperous, contented, and happy. Although all express the warmest affection for Ameri-

which in the very nature of things you cannot experience in this country.

Liberia, happy land! thy shore  
Entices with a thousand charms;  
And calls—his wonted thralldom o’er—  
Her ancient exile to her arms.

Come hither, son of Afric, come,  
And o’er the wide and weltering sea,  
Behold thy lost yet lovely home,  
That fondly waits to welcome thee.

ca; if you were to ask them whether they do not wish to return, they would laugh at you.\* He "attended their courts, and was gratified to observe the perfect good order and decorum with which their proceedings were conducted.

\* To show the feeling in Liberia nearly eighteen years ago, we may mention that a meeting of the citizens of Monrovia, *Resolved*, That this meeting entertain the warmest gratitude for what the Colonization Society have done for the people of color, and for us particularly, and that we regard the scheme as entitled to the highest confidence of every man of color. Also, whereas, it has been widely and maliciously circulated, in the United States of America, that the inhabitants of this colony are unhappy in their situation, and anxious to return: *Resolved*, that the report is false and malicious, and originated only in a design to injure the colony, by calling off the support and sympathy of its friends: that, so far from a desire to return, we would regard such an event as the greatest calamity that could befall us.

Among the sentiments expressed by different individuals at this meeting, were the following, as reported in the *Liberia Herald*:

Mr. David White, who arrived in Africa, May 24, 1828, said, "Never have I seen the moment in which I repined at coming to the colony. My object in coming was liberty, for which I am willing to endure greater hardships than those I have already encountered. And under the firm conviction that Africa is the only place, under existing circumstances, where the man of color can enjoy the inestimable blessings of liberty and equality. I feel grateful beyond expression to the American Colonization Society for preparing this peaceful asylum."

Mr. George Baxter remarked, "I beg the liberty on this occasion, to express my deep gratitude to the American Colonization Society, for the great deliverance effected by them of myself and family. I thank God that he ever put it in their hearts to seek out this free soil. I and my family were born in Charleston, South Carolina, under the appellation of free people; but freedom we never knew until, by the benevolence of the Colonization Society, we were conveyed to the shores of Africa."

Mr. R. Matthews, who arrived in Liberia in the year 1832, said, "My place of residence was the city of Washington, D. C. where I passed for a freeman. But I can now say, I was never free until I landed on the shores of Africa."

Mr. David Logan, said, "My situation is greatly altered for the better, by coming to Africa. My object was liberty and equality;

The dignity and good sense of the judges, the shrewdness and legal acumen of the counsel, the patient attention of the jury—all, of course, colored men.” As to the climate, Mr. Buchanan says, “it is entirely a mistake to suppose that it is destructive of health.” He “went there with his mind filled with the graphic pictures, drawn by the prolific pencil of the poet, of burning sands, mephitic marshes and scorching winds; but saw nor felt neither.” He “was struck with the beautiful luxuriance of the soil. And as to the heat, the result of the regular thermometrical observations taken at Bassa Cove, was, that in the hot season the mercury ranged between eighty and eighty-eight degrees Fahrenheit, and in

under a conviction, founded on experience, that the colored man cannot enjoy them in the United States. I have been in this colony about ten years, and when I arrived here was without a dollar; yet, as poor as the country is said to be, I find the industrious can make a comfortable living. My political knowledge is far superior to what it would have been had I remained in America a thousand years.”

Mr. James R. Cheesman observed, “Mr. Chairman, I cannot on this occasion suppress my feelings. Animated by the past, and encouraged by the bright prospects which lie before us, let us proceed undauntedly in our noble career. Let us appeal to the pious, the liberal, and the wise: let us bear in mind the condition of our fathers. When assembled on the shores of America they embarked amid the scoffs and false predictions of the assembled multitude—and succeeded, in spite of all the perils of the ocean and dangers of the forest, in laying the foundation of this infant republic.”

One other resolution of the above meeting was, on motion of the very respectable and talented editor of the Herald, Mr. Hilary Teage, also a colored man: “*Resolved*, That this meeting view with regret the degree to which the anti-colonizationists of America carry their opposition. That they regard the opposition of the anti-colonizationists as detrimental to the true interest of the colored people generally. That their unmeasured abuse of the colonization scheme is unholy and unjust. That the degree to which they uniformly slander and misrepresent this colony, goes a great way to discredit their profession of disinterested benevolence; and we beseech them by all that we suffered in America—by all that we have suffered here—by all the bright prospects before us, and by a regard to their own character, to scandalize and vilify us no more.”

the cold or wet season it seldom falls lower than seventy. There is besides a continual and refreshing breeze from the sea, during the day, and from the land during the night." During his residence at Bassa Cove "not a single death had occurred in the colony, which consists of about two hundred persons. The colonists, throughout Liberia, are generally moral and temperate, and a large number of them, one-third of the emigrant population, are professing Christians. At Bassa Cove the introduction of ardent spirits is prohibited. The occupations of the people are mechanical, mercantile, and agricultural. In the old colonies many of the citizens have become wealthy. Such is the respect with which the native blacks regard the colonists, that many of them of high rank in their tribes have considered it a great favor to be permitted to put their sons in the families of the 'America men,' as servants, for the purpose of learning their language and manners. These on their return to their homes act as so many missionaries of civilization—rough and uncouth, indeed, but sufficiently improved to make their savage associates conscious of their own inferiority, and to increase their respect for the colonists."

'You have intimated that there have been some accounts of a contrary character?'

'There have been some few instances of dissatisfied emigrants, who have made, in some respects, a different report; but it has been confidently believed that they were prompted by feelings growing out of the peculiar circumstances in their individual case. They were certainly not of such a character as to invalidate or discredit the testimony of the many judicious, impartial, and highly respectable persons who have borne opposite testimony.'

'I should think, Sir, from what you have told us of the number of the churches in Liberia, that the *religious* privileges of the colony are great?'

'Much is done to promote the cause of religion in the colony, and this has always been an object of solicitude on

the part of the Colonization Society. The churches in Liberia are generally well supplied with respectable and faithful ministers. In all these churches there are Sunday schools established, to which the most promising young people in the colony have attached themselves either as teachers or as scholars. The Sunday schools are also furnished with libraries.

‘I have in the pamphlet before me, which was printed in Monrovia, the “minutes of the first Convention of the Liberia Baptist Association,” by which it appears that there were then in the colony of Liberia six Baptist churches, comprising about 220 members, located in the different settlements. These minutes represent the Baptist churches as in a flourishing condition; and the proceedings of the convention and their circular to the churches, evince talent, judgment, and piety, of a very respectable order. I will give you one extract from these minutes: “Princes shall come out of Egypt, Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God, is the prediction of a holy prophet, uttered ages antecedent to the advent of the Messiah. And when we reflect on the midnight darkness which, from time immemorial, has shrouded this portion of Africa, we hail with rapture the first dawning of that glorious gospel-day which is signified in this oracle. He, with whom a thousand years is as a day, and a day as a thousand years, works his own sovereign will, and effects his purposes of grace and goodness, in a manner above the comprehension of men. For ages Africa has been ‘meted out and trodden down.’ Her deep moral degradation seems, by universal consent, to have been justification in regarding her as lawful plunder, and as a land on which a curse rests. But we rejoice that these days are going by. The darkness of ages is yielding to the bright rising of the ‘Sun of righteousness.’ Idolatry and superstition are retiring before Christianity and civilization, and on the mountain top, once defiled by sacrifices to devils,



the banner of the cross is unfurled, while a voice in the wilderness is proclaiming: 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand,' repent and believe the gospel."

'I have here also the "Report of the Liberia Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the minutes of their Annual Conference in Liberia in 1835." This document is full of interest, and displays the same zeal, energy, and ability which you find generally among the colonists. Of the conference, the report says, "The greatest harmony and peace prevailed during our session, and it is confidently hoped that this little band of ambassadors for Christ have gone to their respective appointments with increasing zeal in the cause of their Divine Master, and holy resolutions to spend and be spent in the blessed work of winning souls for God. Our love-feast and sacramental occasions were attended by manifestations of the Holy Spirit of God, in the quickening of his children, the conviction and conversion of souls, and the spread of divine truth. The altar was thronged on the last evening with weeping, broken-hearted seekers of Christ and his great salvation. Having been very affectionately requested by our brethren of both Baptist churches to occupy their pulpits throughout the meeting, and especially on the Sabbath, we appointed laborers accordingly; so that the word of life was dispensed nine times on Sunday in the town of Monrovia by preachers of the Methodist conference. May he who giveth the increase, water the good seed from on high, that it may bring forth abundantly to his eternal glory." It would seem by the minutes that the number of ministers of this denomination in the colony, was, at the beginning of 1835, twelve; and the number of communicants upwards of 200. The report also speaks of the appointment of a missionary "for the interior of Africa, to carry the light of the gospel of Jesus Christ into the dark regions of this benighted land." The appointment, it is said, seems to be regarded by the members of the conference with the warmest ap-

probation, and one good result already discovered from it is the awakening a missionary spirit among the preachers. Several are ready to say, 'Here are we, send us. We covet the privilege of carrying the gospel to the heathen tribes.' The Report concludes, "If we are to judge from the appearance of the fields around us, which are already 'white unto harvest,' we should conclude that 'the set time to favor Zion *has* come,' yea, that '*now* is the accepted time, *now* is the day of salvation.' Men and brethren, help! O help to disenthral poor bleeding Africa from the hellish grasp of the enemy of all righteousness! Help to promote the moral and religious prosperity of this infant colony, destined as it is to be rendered the savor of life unto life to this benighted continent."

'In a number of the Liberia Herald, which is now before me, dated as long ago as 1836, I find pleasing evidence of the advancement of the colony in all that is good, and of the rich blessings which God designs to pour through it upon a benighted continent, in the fact that a number of *natives* who had been brought under the influence of the gospel, and had been for some time communicants in one of the Baptist churches, had been dismissed from that particular church to form a new one in a situation more advantageous to their extended usefulness. I will give you the article announcing this event, as I find it in the Monrovia paper: "On Sunday thirty-six native Africans, resident at New Georgia, late members of the First Baptist Church in this place, having been dismissed by letters, were brought into visibility as a church, in the place of their residence. Sermon by Rev. Dr. Skinner, charge and right hand of fellowship by Rev. H. Teage, and concluding prayer by Rev. A. W. Anderson. The exercises of the occasion were truly solemnly pleasing and impressive. They naturally threw the mind back to the period when they who were thus solemnly dedicating themselves to God, to be constituted into a 'golden candlestick' from which the di-

vine light is to chase the surrounding gloom, were in the darkness of nature, without God, without revelation, and consequently without the hope it inspires. These reflections seemed to produce a reaction of the mind, and threw it on an immoveable foundation, the promise that 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God.' On this circumstance the mind seemed invited to repose, as an earnest of the full completion of the promise, and earnestly to ejaculate, 'Lord, let thy kingdom come.'"

'I must give you one more extract from the same paper. It is a communication from a correspondent of the Herald in Monrovia, and relates to the dedication of a Presbyterian church: "Mr. Editor, as every circumstance which has any relation to the spreading of our blessed religion in Africa, must have a tendency to give satisfaction to every lover and follower of the religion of Jesus Christ, you will confer a favor on one of your constant readers by giving publication to this. Having understood that the First Presbyterian Church was to be dedicated to the service of God, I attended, and was happy to find the principal part of the inhabitants of this town present on so interesting an occasion. Every denomination of saints seemed to rejoice that another temple had been erected and dedicated to the worship of Almighty God. It was enough that the pure religion of Jesus Christ was to be inculcated from that sacred pulpit, and, as that servant of God, the Rev. C. Teage, remarked, where he then stood preaching the dedication sermon, sixteen years past, the devil's bush stood; what skeptic could doubt that colonization and missionary enterprise had done so much good? The service commenced by singing a hymn selected for the occasion, and reading the 8th chapter of the 2d book of Kings, by the Pastor, Rev. James Eden; sermon by Rev. C. Teage; concluding prayer by Rev. A. D. Williams, of the M. E. Church. How truly animating it is to see temples arise for the worship of God where not long since there was

nothing to be heard but the savage yell of the native, or the clinking of the poor slaves' chains. On Sunday, the 27th December, Mr. H. B. Matthews was ordained a ruling elder of the church, by Rev. Mr. Wilson, of Cape Palmas."'

'It is indeed delightful to witness the interest taken by different denominations of Evangelical Christians, in behalf of this too long neglected continent. Since 1837 a vigorous, increasingly effective, and most successful mission, has been in progress under the direction of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, at Cape Palmas.—More recently the Church has been efficiently organized there, by the consecration of the Rt. Rev. J. Payne, D.D. as Missionary Bishop of that once enlightened, but since benighted land—the scene of the labors of a Tertullian, a Cyprian, and other Fathers of the Church. The High School and other institutions of learning and religion, connected with the mission, form most cheering items in the missionary reports.'\*

\* An officer of the Navy, United States, writing from Monrovia, in 1851, says :—" On the Sabbath, we attended worship in the Methodist Church,—the largest in the place,—which was well filled by a well dressed, and apparently a devout congregation. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Burns, a colored man, from the text —'There remaineth, therefore, a rest for the people of God.' Mr. Burns is an interesting speaker. His exposition and application were eloquent and happy. We all agreed that it is seldom, even in our own highly favored land, that we listen to a sermon of greater interest and beauty. The effect upon my own mind was pleasing; and when the congregation all united in singing the favorite old hymn—

'There is a land of pure delight,'

I could scarcely realize that I was in Africa, and worshipping upon a spot where, a few years since, the wild beasts of the forest roamed undisturbed, except by marauders seeking to enslave their fellows. The location of Monrovia, the metropolis of Liberia, is very beautiful, the finest decidedly on the northern coast. It is regularly laid out, the

‘I do not see, Pa, why the Colonization Society and the interests of the colony should be so virulently opposed as they are by many?’

‘It is strange that it is opposed by so many from whom we might have expected better things; and especially since *something*, it is admitted by all, *must be done*, and since *no better scheme* has yet been devised.

‘Should not the mighty scheme of colonization be realized in all its parts and to its utmost extent,’ said Caroline, ‘blessings will nevertheless be attained, it seems to me, which will abundantly repay every effort and sacrifice made.’

‘Great good has already been done, and far more than proportionate to the efforts made. The germ of an Americano-African empire has been planted; and even if colonization should for ever cease, that colony will extend and extend, I doubt not, until its influence shall overshadow the continent. The plan will succeed. Heaven’s blessing will attend it. Glorious things are in store for Africa. That continent has a rich blessing in the Liberia colony.’

‘It appears to me, Pa, that the object is one of the most noble philanthropy; we have read of a Howard, and have admired; but here is a philanthropy that seeks to disenfranchise and elevate three millions of outcasts who are now among ourselves, and to establish the liberties and secure the best good of a continent.’

‘And that continent, Caroline, is estimated as containing *fifty millions of immortal souls!* some say, *two hundred millions!*’

‘Truly a noble cause!’

‘A noble cause, indeed; and we may all, if we will,

streets, which are broad, crossing each other at right angles. It contains some two hundred houses, some of them large, fine buildings, and all, I believe, comfortable. There are also several churches, an orphan house, market house, court house, &c.”

enjoy the honor of engaging in its interests, and of helping forward this blessed enterprise.'

'In our next conversation we will view Liberia under a new aspect ; that of a free and independent Republic?'



## CONVERSATION XXV.

"Non enim est ulla res in qua proprius ad Deorum numen virtus accedat humana, quam civitates aut condere novas, aut conservare jam conditas."—*Cicero*.

'WE feel great interest, Pa, in the subject proposed for this evening's conversation ; and we would like for you to inform us what has been the government of the colonies previous to the organization of the Republic.'

'The government has always been, as far as practicable, republican ; designed from the first, expressly to prepare the colonists, ably and successfully, to govern themselves.

'It has been well said, "The early history, and the peculiar manner of the formation of the Republic of Liberia, will, doubtless, be regarded hereafter as one of the most extraordinary, as well as fortunate events of modern times." I know not that I can better present the subject than to continue the very language of the very able report of the American Colonization Society, in announcing the result. "The principles and the policy have been totally unlike those which have, in all other instances, resulted in the planting of colonies, and the erection of states. For nearly one-third of a century the Society had been laboring to elevate a portion of the colored race from their de-



pressed condition, to accustom them to self-control, to inspire them with the feelings of self-respect, and a desire for improvement, and to train them in the arts and sciences, and thus to raise them to a commanding position among the nations of the earth. It had gathered together a few thousands of them who were willing to be pioneers in the great undertaking, who were bound together by some common principle of union, and who had implanted within them some correct estimate of the nature and consequences of the duties devolving upon them. This process had been going on, until there appeared to be among the colonists sufficient intelligence and virtue to conduct their own public affairs with honor and advantage.

‘ There were also some things existing in their peculiar condition, and their relations to the leading governments of the world, which seemed to render the formation, by them, of an independent government indispensable to their future quietness and prosperity. England particularly had refused to recognize, in the authorities of Liberia, any right to exercise jurisdiction over their own territory, or to prescribe the terms on which others should hold intercourse with them. And British traders had repeatedly refused to pay the small duties imposed by the laws of Liberia on goods brought into her ports.

‘ Under these circumstances, the Colonial Council, at their session in January, 1845, passed a resolution, calling the attention of the Society to the disabilities under which they labored, and proposing as a remedy some change in their political organization.

‘ Accordingly, the Board of Directors, in January, 1846, proposed to the colonists to assume all the responsibilities of their government, and become, to all intents and purposes, an independent nation.

‘ To this proposition they, after much deliberation, yielded assent. To effect it, considerable changes in their affairs were requisite.

‘In July, 1847, a convention of delegates elected by the people met in Monrovia, and after twenty-one days of deliberation, adopted the form of a constitution, which was submitted to the vote of the citizens in September, and was with great unanimity adopted. This constitution reflects upon them the highest honor. The new flag of the Republic was hoisted, and their independence declared and celebrated with appropriate ceremonies, and the Republic of Liberia assumed its proper and permanent position in the political world !\*’

‘The *Constitution* adopted is an admirable document. The Report from which I have read remarks truly, “They have had the good sense to copy after the most magnificent form of Government which the world has ever beheld ! The institutions which have been the sources of so much happiness to the citizens of the United States, have been the models for the formation of theirs. As far as their circumstances rendered possible, they have adopted the form of government which exist in our own country.” Passing by the constitution, which you can examine at your leisure, I will read to you their *Declaration of Independence* :

“We the representatives of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, in Convention assembled, invested with authority for forming a new government, relying upon the

\* The following Flag and Seal were adopted by the convention, as the insignia of the Republic of Liberia, and ordered to be employed to mark its nationality :—

Flag : Six red stripes with five white stripes alternately displayed longitudinally. In the upper angle of the flag, next to the spear, a square blue ground covering in depth five stripes. In the centre of the blue, one white star.

Seal : A dove on the wing with an open scroll in its claws. A view of the ocean with a ship under sail. The sun just emerging from the waters. A palm tree, and at its base a plow and spade. Beneath the emblems, the words REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, and above the emblems, the national motto, THE LOVE OF LIBERTY BROUGHT US HERE.

aid and protection of the Great Arbiter of human events, do hereby, in the name and on behalf of the people of this Commonwealth, publish and declare the said Commonwealth a FREE, SOVEREIGN, AND INDEPENDENT STATE, by the name and title of the REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

“ While announcing to the nations of the world the new position which the people of this Republic have felt themselves called upon to assume, courtesy to their opinion seems to demand a brief accompanying statement of the causes which induced them, first to expatriate themselves from the land of their nativity, and to form settlements on this barbarous coast, and now to organize their government by the assumption of a sovereign and independent character. Therefore we respectfully ask their attention to the following facts.

“ We recognise in all men certain natural and inalienable rights: among these are life, liberty, and the right to possess, enjoy, and defend property. By the practice and consent of men in all ages, some system or form of government is proven to be necessary to exercise, enjoy, and secure those rights; and every people have a right to institute a government, and to choose and adopt that system or form of it, which in their opinion will most effectually accomplish these objects, and secure their happiness, which does not interfere with the just rights of others. The right therefore to institute government, and to all the powers necessary to conduct it, is an inalienable right, and cannot be resisted without the grossest injustice.

“ We, the people of the Republic of Liberia, were originally the inhabitants of the United States of North America.

“ In some parts of the country we were debarred by law from all the rights and privileges of men—in other parts, public sentiment, more powerful than law, frowned us down.

“ We were every where shut out from all civil office.

“We were excluded from all participation in the government.

“We were taxed without our consent.

“We were compelled to contribute to the resources of a country which gave us no protection.

“We were made a separate and distinct class, and against us every avenue to improvement was effectually closed. Strangers from all lands of a color different from ours, were preferred before us.

“We uttered our complaints, but they were unattended to, or only met by alleging the peculiar institutions of the country.

“All hope of a favorable change in our country was thus wholly extinguished in our bosoms, and we looked with anxiety abroad for some asylum from the deep degradation.

“The Western coast of Africa was the place selected by American benevolence and philanthropy for our future home. Removed beyond those influences which depressed us in our native land, it was hoped we would be enabled to enjoy those rights and privileges, and exercise and improve those faculties which the God of nature has given us in common with the rest of mankind.

“Under the auspices of the American Colonization Society we established ourselves here, on lands acquired by purchase from the Lords of the soil.

“In an original compact with this Society, we, for important reasons, delegated to it certain political powers; while this institution stipulated that whenever the people should become capable of conducting the government, or whenever the people should desire it, this institution would resign the delegated power, peaceably withdraw its supervision, and leave the people to the government of themselves.

“Under the auspices and guidance of this institution, which has nobly and in perfect faith redeemed its pledges to the people, we have grown and prospered.

“From time to time our number has been increased by migration from America, and by accessions from native tribes: and from time to time, as circumstances required it, we have extended our borders by acquisition of land by honorable purchase from the natives of the country.

“As our territory has extended, and our population increased, our commerce has also increased. The flags of most of the civilized nations of the earth float in our harbors, and their merchants are opening an honorable and profitable trade. Until recently, these visits have been of a uniformly harmonious character, but as they have become more frequent, and to more numerous points of our extending coast, questions have arisen, which it is supposed can be adjusted only by agreement between sovereign powers.

“For years past, the American Colonization Society has virtually withdrawn from all direct and active part in the administration of the government, except in the appointment of Governor, who is also a colonist, for the apparent purpose of testing the ability of the people to conduct the affairs of government, and no complaint of crude legislation, nor of mismanagement, nor of mal-administration has yet been heard.

“In view of these facts, this institution, the American Colonization Society, with that good faith which has uniformly marked all its dealings with us, did, by a set of resolutions in January, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-six, dissolve all political connexion with the people of this Republic, return the power with which it was delegated, and left the people to the government of themselves.

“The people of the Republic of Liberia then, are of right, and in fact, a free, sovereign and independent State; possessed of all the rights, powers, and functions of government.

“In assuming the momentous responsibilities of the

position they have taken, the people of this Republic feel justified by the necessities of the case, and with this conviction they throw themselves with confidence upon the candid consideration of the civilized world.

“Liberia is not the offspring of grasping ambition, nor the tool of avaricious speculation.

“No desire for territorial aggrandizement brought us to these shores ; nor do we believe so sordid a motive entered into the high considerations of those who aided us in providing this asylum.

“Liberia is an asylum from the most grinding oppression.

“In coming to the shores of Africa we indulged the pleasing hope that we would be permitted to exercise and improve those faculties which impart to man his dignity—to nourish in our hearts the flame of honorable ambition, to cherish and indulge those aspirations which a beneficent Creator had implanted in every human heart, and to evince to all who despise, ridicule and oppress our race, that we possess with them a common nature, are with them susceptible of equal refinement, and capable of equal advancement in all that adorns and dignifies man.

“We were animated with the hope that here we should be at liberty to train up our children in the way they should go—to inspire them with the love of an honorable fame, to kindle within them the flame of a lofty philanthropy, and to form strong within them the principles of humanity, virtue and religion.

“Among the strongest motives to leave our native land—to abandon for ever the scenes of our childhood, and to sever the most endeared connexions, was the desire for a retreat where, free from the agitations of fear and molestation, we could, in composure and security, approach in worship, the God of our fathers.

“Thus far our highest hopes have been realized.

“Liberia is already the happy home of thousands, who



were once the doomed victims of oppression, and if left unmolested to go on with her natural and spontaneous growth; if her movements be left free from the paralysing intrigues of jealous ambitious, and unscrupulous avarice, she will throw open a wider and yet a wider door for thousands who are now looking with an anxious eye for some land of rest.

“Our courts of justice are open equally to the stranger and the citizen for the redress of grievancees, for the remedy of injuries, and for the punishment of crime.

“Our numerous and well attended schools attest our efforts, and our desire for the improvement of our children.

“Our churches for the worship of our Creator, every where to be seen, bear testimony to our piety, and to our acknowledgment of His Providence.

“The native African bowing down with us before the altar of the living God, declare that from us, feeble as we are, the light of Christianity has gone forth, while upon that curse of curses, the slave-trade, a deadly blight has fallen as far as our influence extends.

“Therefore, in the name of humanity, and virtue and religion—in the name of the Great God, our common Creator, and our common Judge, we appeal to the nations of Christendom, and earnestly and respectfully ask of them, that they will regard us with the sympathy and friendly consideration, to which the peculiarities of our condition entitle us, and to extend to us, that comity which marks the friendly intercourse of civilized and independent communities.

Signed,

S. BENEDICT, *President,*

J. N. LEWIS,

H. TEAGE,

BEVERLY R. WILSON,

ELIJAH JOHNSON,

J. B. GRIFON,

JOHN DAY,

A. W. GARDNER,

AMOS HERRING,

EPHRAIM TILLER,

R. E. MURRAY,

} Montserrado County.

} Grand Bassa County.

} County of Sinoo.

J. W. PROUT, *Secretary of Convention.*”

Thus, my children, we see, upon the shores of Africa,—established in what *was* the very centre of barbarism and the slave-trade, a Sovereign and Independent Government, the REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA!—the germ, I doubt not, of a rising, prosperous, mighty Empire!’

‘To the early friends and patrons of Colonization,’ said C. ‘this result must be exceedingly gratifying, as a fulfilment in part of the original designs of the Society, and of their fondest hopes?’

‘Yes,’ said Mr. L. ‘to see a colony of free colored men established, and to have demonstrated to the world the fact that colonization is practicable, and that the freed colored man is capable of self-government, is something: it now remains to be seen, whether, increasing in virtue and intelligence, they will advance in population, wealth, and commerce, and exhibit a prosperous, tranquil, well-governed State, fulfilling ultimately our hopes, by giving political and religious character and importance to that vast continent. In expectation of this, faith reaches forward, and the past and present inspire us with confidence.’

‘They must feel,’ said H. that they have entered upon a new career; and with new responsibilities, will find a new impetus and motive to action.’

‘They seem,’ said Mr. L. ‘to understand their new position, and all their subsequent acts augur well for the future.’

‘How,’ asked C. ‘has the new position they have assumed been regarded by the nations?’

Said Mr. L. ‘England, France, Belgium, and Prussia, have already acknowledged the Republic, and have entered into treaties with it, of amity and commerce, on terms of entire reciprocity. Other powers, no doubt, will do the same.’

‘But,’ said C. ‘you do not mention our own Government?’

‘Our own Government,’ Mr. L. replied, ‘I am sorry to say, have not yet acted in this matter, further than to say,

"it shall be considered." The reason for this delay, it is not for me to say. I am no partizan. But so it is, that, whilst other powers have hastened to recognize the new Republic, and bid it 'God speed,' there is an influence here that delays!

'The friends of Colonization, Pa,' said Henry, 'will still continue their aid?'

'Certainly. It is not for a moment to be imagined that because Liberia has become independent, the work of Colonization has, therefore, come to a conclusion. Henceforth the Society must be the helper of a new state; not its director. Her claims to sympathy are, in important respects, placed upon new ground. The Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, say, Liberia "needs more men in all the departments of her government, in all the branches of her industry, in all the channels of her commerce, in all her churches and her schools. These men must, for the present, mainly be sent from this country; most of them are destitute of means to defray their own expenses. The Society must raise the money and aid them to the full extent of their necessities.

'Already has the new position Liberia has assumed, given a spring to every class of business in the Republic.\*

\* In a bark chartered by the American Colonization Society, and which sailed in 1851, with one hundred and twenty-six emigrants, a company of the emigrants carried with them a saw-mill, with all the necessary appurtenances, to be located in the country of Sinoe, Liberia. The cost of the whole machinery at Savannah was about two thousand dollars, the greater part of which was paid by an enterprising black man at Savannah, named Edward Hall, who, by industry and economy, had been enabled to purchase himself, his wife, and two grown brothers, all of whom accompanied him. This will be the first introduction of steam machinery into Liberia; but a joint stock company of free colored persons in Virginia has lately been formed for the purchasing and carrying out a steam-mill, and another company in Charleston, South Carolina, are making arrangements to carry out one next spring. The prospects of introducing steam

Every man seems to feel a renewed sense of responsibility. The dignity of free citizenship is upon him. The foundations are laid for Christian nationality. It is the radiating point for the spread of Christian circulation over the continent. Every good man will bid them God speed.

machinery commensurate with the wants of the citizens of Liberia seem to be encouraging.

Important movements of the free colored population are occurring, of such a nature as to indicate the direction to which their opinions tend. Companies have been organized in several States, who have decided to emigrate and form settlements on the coast of Africa. The leaven of peaceful separation is at work, and will doubtless hereafter manifest itself in a stream of emigration to Liberia, in proportion to their number, as great as now pours upon us from Europe. Indeed, the very process of this European emigration will precipitate that result.

Agricultural experiments have made a decided and rapid advance during the year.

A company organized in England to try experiments for cotton-raising on the coast of Africa have, under the agency of Mr. Shaw, succeeded in Liberia better than elsewhere, and, by the latest accounts, were about to export a load of cotton to England. Coffee-planting has been prosecuted on a large scale, and bids fair to become a prominent source of wealth to the emigrants.

## CONVERSATION XXVI.

"As in ancient Rome it was regarded as the mark of a good citizen, never to despair of the fortunes of the republic; so the good citizen of the world, whatever may be the political aspect of his own times, will never despair of the fortunes of the human race; but will act upon the conviction that prejudice, slavery, and corruption, must gradually give way to truth, liberty, and virtue."—*Dugald Stewart.*

'I THINK, Pa,' said Caroline, 'that a great good has been achieved in the simple demonstration that the scheme of the Colonization Society is, beyond any doubt, practicable?'

'Some pronounced it otherwise,' said Mr. L. 'and so almost every great enterprise has had to encounter similar objections. The first suggestions touching the feasibility of employing the agency of steam—the first proposition for supplying by artificial means the absence of natural facilities for inland navigation—and the object of our revolutionary struggle, were treated by many as impracticable. So were the plans of him

"who first unfurl'd

"An Eastern banner o'er the Western world."\*

'The views of those who at first asserted the impracticability of the enterprise, and augured its defeat, were certainly entitled to consideration; nor am I even now disposed to join with such as say that those who, at this late day, oppose, "deserve a strait jacket"—but it does appear to me that since the most formidable difficulties have been

\* The expeditions of Columbus, Cabot, Raleigh, Hudson, Winthrop, Oglethorpe, were all considered visionary.

encountered and overcome, ultimate success, on a scale of vast magnificence, may be confidently expected. It has been well remarked, by a sound philosopher, that "the greatest of all obstacles to the improvement of the world, is the prevailing belief of its improbability, which damps the exertions of so many individuals; and that, in proportion as the contrary opinion becomes general, it realizes the event which it leads us to anticipate." Mr. Dugald Stewart further remarks, that "if any thing can have a tendency to call forth, in the public service, the exertions of individuals, it must be an idea of the magnitude of that work in which they are conspiring, and a belief of the permanence of those benefits which they confer on mankind, by every attempt to inform and enlighten them." This enterprise has suffered much from unnecessary discouragement and opposition; but it is a noble work, and in respect to the benefit which it promises, may well rank among the first of the benevolent and patriotic efforts of man.'

'It certainly appears no more than just,' C. remarked, 'that we seek in this way to do Africa good; we have long enough done her wrong.'

'True, my daughter; and I cannot better express my sentiment on this part of our duty, than to use the language of Mr. Frelinghuysen:—"We have committed a mighty trespass. Africa has a heavy claim against us. It is a long and bloody catalogue of outrage and oppression. The report of our national crime has gone up to heaven. It rose upon the groans and tears of her kidnapped children—the infernal horrors of the slave-ship have, in ten thousand instances, wrung from distracted bosoms the cry for vengeance; and there is a just God to hear and regard it. On the front of this blessed scheme of humanity is inscribed, in better than golden characters, 'RECOMPENSE TO THE INJURED.'"

'A consideration of interest to every one who loves his country and the cause of God, is, we shall, by colonization, not only establish the liberties of Africa, under our



own, the very best form of government, but we shall cheer that whole land with the pure light of Christianity.'

'Pa, I cannot think of an object which seems to afford a fairer field for the exercise of the finest feelings of the true patriot and Christian.'

'What *is* patriotism?' said Henry: 'I have thought it would be difficult to define it, according to the generally understood meaning of the term at the present time. Is it not a feeling that influences to the practice of benevolent acts of self-denial and noble deeds for one's country's good?'

'That, Henry, is the very best meaning of the term when properly used. True patriotism is not a mere selfish love of country, but an expansive feeling that regards the evils that threaten or afflict the community at large, and every portion of that community, and labors to avert or remove them. Show me thy patriotism without thy works, every true patriot may say, and I will show thee my patriotism by my works. Empty is the boast of a patriotism that nerves the grasp of sordid lust when our country calls.

"Can he be strenuous in his country's cause,  
 "Who slight the charities, for whose dear sake  
 "That country, if at all, must be belov'd?"

There is much such patriotism in our day; and also too much of that which will sacrifice every benevolent, and Christian, and patriotic cause on the altar of sectarian illiberality, and the littleness of party interest. Ours should be a patriotism that is worthy of the descendants of revolutionary heroes. The evils of slavery in this country extend their influence to every part of the Union; and the guilt of having encouraged, in times past, the introduction of slavery and the continuance of the slave-trade, rests upon our country; and all should be willing and desirous to do what may be done with propriety to avert these evils and to expiate this guilt. As respects Africa, the wrong which she has received from us is, in an important sense,

a national sin ; and as such, its expiation should be national. What our country, as such, however, is not yet prepared to do, true patriotism may attempt, according to its ability, to accomplish. If we wait for national action on this subject, Africa in the meanwhile suffers, and our country must suffer. Without arrogating to ourselves *any disputed right* whatever, we may individually or in associated capacities, do much for Africa's relief—much for our country's relief; whilst, in so doing, we also confer a great blessing upon the colored people in our land, both bond and free. And what may thus be done without offence, surely ought to be done, and done at once. There is danger in delay, for God is a God of justice. We may shut our eyes to the fact, and the mercenary hand of avarice may clench the fist which ought to be the open hand of benevolence and patriotism, but the evil will one day obtrude upon our notice. We were now the happiest people upon earth, but for this leprosy that is upon us. These 2,000,000 of bondmen who tread this soil of freedom, and those 500,000 of their brethren who are nominally free, but are connected with them in all their sympathies and in all their interest, with their constantly and rapidly increasing numbers, greatly eclipse our prospects and are portentous of calamity !

‘It surely needs not a prophet's ken to foretell what will be the result of a continuance of the present state of things. A slight knowledge of human nature, aided by the history of the past, is sufficient for the purpose. Our black population was once a mole-hill, comparatively; it is now a mountain—and what is worse, that mountain is, as we have seen, volcanic! Short, as yet, have been its irruptions and few; but they have laid waste valuable lives, and have caused many a family to mourn, sending also a thrill to the very extremities of our land. These momentary emissions are probably but the prelude, if something more efficient be not done for our relief and that speedily, of a general and awful explosion. Southampton and St. Domingo fur-

nish some idea of what may be, unless the Christian and patriotic of this republic, so backward in its duty to itself and to Africa, awake to vigorous effort. The same causes, with concurring circumstances, will produce like effects, so long as the laws of nature remain unchanged, and the nature of man the same.

‘Some, it is true, make a mock at the evils of slavery, and always puff at the idea of danger; but, for myself, although not made of so yielding materials as to be easily alarmed by merely imaginary fears, I confess it appears far more than possible, that should we be indifferent to our duty, and angry discussions continue, the great and glorious Author of all our happiness and prosperity may be provoked by our sins, to blast our national blessings, and lay prematurely in the grave all our prospects. Empires raise and fall at His command. We look back through the long vista of ages, and many nations that were, once, are now no more. Others are mere fragments and shadows of what was once their pride. Nations will not exist as such in another world, and therefore receive the retributions of divine justice here. In what has been in the history of nations, we may read our own doom. It is written—and if we repent not of the evil, confessing and forsaking our sins, and endeavoring to make suitable amends, whatever our national or individual sins may be, we must abide the consequence. There is, in what we now see, cause to fear. Those local interests, and that local jealousy, and personal ambition, and unfeeling cupidity, which are already supplanting the former sterling patriotism of our country, creating discord, justifying opposition to authority, trampling constitution and law under foot, glorying in party devotion, lightly esteeming the national compact, and even threatening the dissolution of our Union, may be the very prelude of a visitation of wrath from the power of infinite Justice. A foreign influence encouraged by ourselves, cherished by blind party zeal, is also every

day acquiring strength, and may one day throw its whole weight into whatever scale may tell most to the ruin of our hopes. Our own native citizens of the North are divided in sentiment—not in respect to the evils of slavery itself—not in respect to the necessity of doing something to avert from us and from our country the disgrace and the danger—but in respect to the manner of doing it; and angry debate, divisions among friends, and rioting and bloodshed is the consequence!’

‘The violence of party spirit, and the atrocities that have been committed of late years by mobs, it appears to me, Pa,’ said Caroline, ‘are evidence of a great decline in correct moral sentiment, and forbode still greater insecurity and danger.’

‘This is, indeed, a most alarming feature in the present political aspect of our country,’ said Mr. L. ‘Against mob law in any country, but especially one like ours, there is no security, except in the sound principles and correct moral feeling of the mass of the people. The spoke of the wheel which is upward this moment, may be down the next, and they who are to-day applauded, may to-morrow be the foot-ball of an infatuate and infuriate populace. Nature’s great poet has well described the influence and caprice of a mob :

“ You are no surer, no,  
Than is the coal of fire upon the ice,  
Or hailstone in the sun. Your virtue is,  
To make him worthy, whose offence subdues him,  
And curse that justice did it.  
\* \* \* \* \* He that depends  
Upon your favors, swims with fins of lead  
And hews down oaks with rushes. Hang ye ! Trust ye !  
With every minute you do change a mind ;  
And call him noble, that was now your hate,  
Him vile, that was your garland.”

A resort to mob violence is ever to be deprecated, and

should always be discouraged by every good citizen, let the offence which is made a plea for the measure be what it may.\*

'The increase of slaves in our country is very rapid, is it not, Pa?' said Henry.

'Yes; the increase is now near 60,000 a year. In 25 years it will, at the present rate of increase, be 140,000!

'How formidable,' said Caroline, 'would be an insurrection of millions of slaves! and these perhaps aided by tens of thousands of naturalized citizens whose sympathies are all

\* The author is happy here to quote the following correct and very sensible remarks of the Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D. of Virginia: "It should always be kept in mind, that in a free country the worst thing that can happen is the destruction of the authority of law. It may seem to be an innocent, or even a laudable thing, to punish a dangerous emissary; but let it be remembered, that there is no medium between the power of the law and the arbitrary power of man; and the arbitrary power of men, in whatever form, is despotism. When the mob rules, we have an hundred tyrants instead of one; but the more numerous our tyrants, the worse our situation. Should it become common for unauthorized individuals to take the punishment of real or supposed crimes into their own hands, any thing might be made a crime, every thing would be unsafe, and the whole population must be divided into clans or parties for the purpose of defence or retaliation; every thing must be thrown into jeopardy and confusion, and we should lose all the attributes of a civilized and Christian people. These are considerations," the learned Professor adds, "which ought to have prevented much" that has been done of late in the southern states. "Some of our citizens," he says, "seemed to lose sight of these principles in the moment of excitement, but since the alarm has somewhat subsided, these principles appear to be appreciated by the great body of the community."

It is confidently hoped and believed that the same principles commend themselves to the great body of the people in every part of our Union. May these sentiments predominate, and may all people—South or North, East or West—Colonizationists or Abolitionists, or opposed to both or either, or in favor of both or either, or indifferent, RESPECT THE LAWS.

with adverse powers, and abetted also, it may be, by the blind zeal of many *native* citizens who consider not the full tendency of their views and efforts, as well as by the reckless ambition of the unprincipled ! An African sceptre, or that of some other foreign power, may yet be wielded over some part or the whole of our country.'

'I do not think that such an event will ever be,' said Mr. L. 'although, as I have said, we are far from secure. We may be scourged, and that severely, to urge us to duty, that the African may be permitted to go up from his house of bondage. Band after band of the rebellious and their coadjutors may be cut down by the sword of defence; but this necessity will be no light affliction upon the heart of humanity; and it will be no light judgment which falls upon us when we shall look over the long catalogue of the victims of the nocturnal massacre—whole sections of our land being turned into bloody sepulchres, filled with the ghastly corpses of our friends, hoary age and smiling infancy, manhood in its strength, and womanhood in its loveliness, virgins in their beauty, and young men in their vigor, involved in promiscuous butchery, and strewed beneath the bleeding thousands of slaves and their abettors, who, having done the deed, are made to atone for it by their own blood.

'By the separation of the two races only, it is believed by many, can our country be greatly benefitted. By this, they contend, it will be enriched. Tens of thousands of places will be opened for those of our own color and habits and sympathies—and by a more wholesome population and grateful labor, industry will be promoted, misery alleviated, our country strengthened. Africans themselves will be enriched and blessed in their father's native land, and the benefit will be thus mutual.'

Said Henry, 'I should think it would be considered a settled point that general and immediate emancipation is hardly safe, and not preferable to slavery either for the whites or the blacks?'



Mr. L. considered it to be ‘a sadly demonstrative truth that the negro race cannot, in this country, become enlightened and useful citizens, so long, at least, as what are denominated our prejudices, remain the same; for such are the circumstances in which they will be placed, unavoidably—that they will not, cannot feel a citizen’s nameless incentives to a manly and noble conduct. The almost united voice of those who have had the best opportunity of judging in the case, is “liberate them only on the condition of their going to Africa, Hayti, or some place where they will be blessed by their liberty, and we secure.” Nor is this the sentiment of those who are advocates for slavery; but of those whose souls indignantly disclaim so unworthy a bias, and whose hearts bleed for injured Africa.

‘The slavery of other nations has been that chiefly of men of the same complexion with the free. As soon as the slave was released, he and his descendants might mingle and lose himself in the general community of the country, undistinguished by any stamp of nature upon his original. But here the features, the complexion, and every peculiarity of his person, pronounce upon the ransomed slave another doom. He feels it—and he feels it too just as we should feel it, our conditions reversed. And if the day ever arrives when an universal emancipation of the slaves of the South shall be effected, and they remain upon the soil, those whites who may remain with them in portions of the country where there shall be a decided superiority of numbers on the side of the blacks, will be made themselves to feel that the differences which nature had caused, are serious obstacles in the way of their peace and happiness. The blacks will, in their turn, resent the idea of inferiority, assert a superiority themselves, and will become the oppressors. Such is the honest opinion of thousands.

‘The object of the Colonization Society, therefore, meets the views of those who wish the slaves to be freed, but who desire also to see them in a community of their own, “where

they may taste the joys, sustain the honors, and be stimulated by the lofty aspirings of freemen ; where their color, and where a darkness of skin shall neither cramp the expansive energies of their intellects, slacken the vigor of their efforts, nor in any way establish an insuperable barrier between them and the first honor of the state." Believing as they do, and in perfect consistency with the kindest regard for their colored brethren, that black and white can never associate in society, as white now associates with white, on equal terms, having one community of interest in business, in marriage, and the participation of all rights ; and that, therefore, they can never live together in happiness, and that one of these two great and distinctive bodies must always hold the ascendancy, they feel impelled by a sacred regard for the best interests of their colored brethren, to encourage their colonization in a land where, if happiness consists at all in independence, they may be most happy.'

'The colored man here has to yield wherever and whenever there is competition. There is an unconquerable indisposition on the part of the white man to mix or mingle with them, whether it be in driving a hack or dray, or any other employment. It has been asked, "Is there a free colored man who can drive a hack or dray in New-York?" Ten years ago there was not a stevedore at Fell's Point, Baltimore, who was not a colored man ; there is now not one there who is not a white man ! Ten years ago there was not a laborer in the coal-yards, in Baltimore, who was not a colored man ; now there is not a colored man in those yards ! He is being driven to the wall. The pressure every where is increasing !

'Year after year, and wave after wave, is bringing to our shores thousands of hardy white men, who are preferred to the colored, and are suited to our climate. Half a million, at least, annually cross the Atlantic, whom there is nothing to prevent rising. Not so the colored man ! He sees and knows that it is nothing but his color—the color given him

by God—which shuts him out from an equal chance in the competition ; and it is impossible, whilst human nature remains, but that the worst passions, envy, malice, vindictiveness, will rankle in his bosom as the consequence. He will become more and more unhappy, as this state of things increases and developes, and more and more dangerous to the state. He can never be incorporated and stand upon an equal platform with the whites. When the white man has every motive to leave Europe and come to this country, the colored man has many, very many, for leaving it. It may be too much to say that Providence designs that the two races shall not amalgamate or exist in the same land, except in the relation of oppressor and oppressed, as some contend ; but no fact can be better established than this, that every thing seems to indicate that He who makes the wrath of man to praise him, designs to overrule the existing state of things for the good of Africa.’

‘But, Pa,’ said Caroline, ‘this is the colored man’s home, if he was born here ; and it seems cruel that prejudices should expatriate him.’

‘True, my daughter ; but may he not be free to go up from this house of bondage (for even to the free colored man, his location is such in effect) if he chooses ? Ought he not to have the same freedom that the Irish, the Germans, the Poles, the Hungarians, and others have, of leaving their native land to go where they may better their condition ? No compulsion should be used to force them to go ; none should be used to detain them.

‘Admit it is time, in an important sense, that this is the country of the colored man *born* here ; the Israelites, whilst captives in Egypt, may have claimed Egypt as their country ; and those born in the wilderness, whilst their fathers, (amidst many perplexities,) were making their way to Canaan, may have regarded themselves as natives of the wilderness, and may have claimed the privilege of enduring its trials. But the *Land of Promise*, Infinite Wisdom re-

garded as their home, and thither, by His guidance, they were led. And if Providence opens a door for the colored man's exodus, and return to Africa; and if his judgment determines him to go; shall we place obstacles in the way; or shall we assist him, and bid him "God speed?"

'God, who "moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform;" whose ways are inscrutable, but always wise; and who permitted Joseph to be sold, and carried into Egypt; it may be has permitted the introduction of the colored man here, that to Africa may be rolled back the blessings of civilization, of religion and of freedom. Thus, whilst the character of a race is elevated, and whilst they who go secure blessings which may not here be enjoyed; or, at best, may be doubtful; and if attainable, distant in prospect, and to be attained only by increasing troubles, and dangers, and distress, endangering the peace and welfare of all concerned; they become the instruments in the hand of God of the fulfilment of great designs of good—of a blessed promise, "Æthiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."'

Said Caroline, 'It is very evident that great wisdom and prudence are necessary in determining a question of such moment. O, I wish that all good men could all think alike, and act together in this matter, pursuing right measures and cherishing right desires. I am satisfied that the whole subject, in all its relations and bearings, is too little understood.'

Said Mr. L. 'Mild, temperate, moderate, the colonization enterprise may well appeal to Heaven for continuance and support. It is a common object for the common benefit of the whole country—for two races—for two continents.'

'The Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D. the venerable Professor at Princeton, has said, "For a long time I entertained no sanguine expectations of success, in planting a colony on the coast of Africa, with the feeble means pos-

sessed by the Society. But the design, I believe, was from God, and He has given efficacy to exertions which most men predicted must prove abortive. I am constrained to declare that I have never known any enterprise in which selfish motives had so little opportunity for exercise. \* \*

At this time there is not upon earth a more wonderful phenomenon than the little Republic of Liberia, governed as it is by men of as sound wisdom as can be found in the counsels of any country. \* \* In future ages, when the impartial historian surveys the events of the first half of the nineteenth century, he will be apt to fix on the planting of this colony, and the establishment of this Republic, unaided by government, as the most remarkable achievement of the whole period. Perhaps it is without a parallel in history.”

Said Caroline, ‘It appears to me that interest, pride, ambition, self-love, self-respect, benevolence, “faith, hope and charity,” all combine to lead the free people of color to Liberia, as the home for themselves and their children—the field of the most perfect developement of their powers—and for the most extensive usefulness.’

Mr. L. remarked, ‘Dr. Hodgkin, of London, a warm friend and advocate of Colonization, has suggested that the fundamental principle of the Colonization Society may be compared with that of the Bible Society, whose avowed object is the diffusion of the pure word of God, “without note or comment, an object to which few can be opposed who are not opposed to the Bible.” “Its single object is ‘the colonization of the free people of color, with their consent, in Africa, or such other place as Congress may deem most expedient.’ I conceive,” said Dr. Hodgkin, “that the founders of the society are entitled to praise for having given so brief, and, at the same time, so comprehensive a definition of their object. It sets forth explicitly, abundant work for any society to undertake, without advancing any thing which can come in collision with the expressed or even secret



opinions of any parties or individuals, unless it be of those who believe that the well-being of the blacks will be promoted in proportion to the increase of their numbers within the States, a doctrine which appears to have originated since the formation of the Colonization Society. It cannot, however, be supposed that the supporters of the Bible Society merely contemplate the scattering of Bibles and Testaments, from which no other effect is to proceed than the mere occupation of space. They look forward to their becoming the powerful agents of an enlightening and moralizing influence. But if we interrogate the members of that society individually, we shall probably find, that, besides the one object in which they all cordially unite, there are other inducements, differing in each, and which could not be brought forward without their again becoming the subjects of schismatic convulsions and violent dispute. The principle motive appears to be to benefit the colored population, and more especially that portion of it which, though not literally loaded with servile chains, is nevertheless suffering from the pains of slavery, and, with but few exceptions, reduced to a miserable and degraded rank in society, and for whose assistance many comparatively unsuccessful efforts have previously been made. At the same time the founders of the Society were fully sensible that the baneful influence of slavery was by no means limited to those objects of their care, but that it was also generally felt by the great mass of the white population."

'Permit me, here, my dear children,' said Mr. L. 'to mention the case of one whose memory I respect, whom I have often met at the table of our common Lord, and whom I have seen year after year shedding around him the influence of a Christian example, in circumstances both prosperous and afflictive. I took some pains, a few years since, when travelling in the southern part of our country, to call upon him, that I might converse with him on the subject of our present conversation. This man—I will recall the ex-



pression—this gentleman, for gentleman he was, in the legitimate sense of the term, had been himself a slave. He gave for his freedom, from what he had earned over and above the daily sum which was required by an indulgent master, who had hired him his time, one thousand dollars. He then, by patient and persevering industry and frugality, purchased his wife and child who were also slaves; and for them was required to give to their exorbitant master, fourteen hundred dollars! When he told me of this latter fact, which I knew before, he said, with a smile of self-gratulation, and with two meanings, both of which I believe were most sincere, “She is my *dear* wife!” He was of a commanding person, modest demeanor, gentlemanly address, well informed mind, humble piety, good judgment, business talents, and was, when I last saw him, surrounded by an interesting family, and possessed of two valuable plantations. He was also said to be owner of a large number of slaves, and had been instrumental in procuring the freedom of a still larger number. Said this individual, in answer to my inquiries, designed to elicit his views, “I cannot, to be sure, contemplate the condition of my family without feeling. Color is a dividing line that of course separates them from the society of white people, in a great measure, and there are few associates for them of sufficient respectability among the colored. Respectable colored people are not indeed at home in this country. I feel most for my children,” said he, the big tear starting in his eye and falling down his manly cheek. I suggested that some had thought to better their condition by removal; he said, “Some recommend Ohio, some New-England, or elsewhere, but the same difficulty exists in every place. Much has been said of Hayti, but our own government and institutions are better than their’s. I have read and thought much of Liberia, and approve of the colony, but the colored people generally prefer to remain where they are; I am myself getting to be old, and shall soon be done with earth.” He expressed himself with mo-

desty and caution, but with proper self-respect, intimating that if he could see his family differently situated, not isolated as here, he should die happy. It was decidedly his opinion that the whites and blacks can never live together as one community, both enjoying all those privileges which are indispensable to the happiness of either.

· ‘I will now advert briefly to other considerations which should influence us in desiring to see the evils and the reproach of slavery done away. A powerful motive, in my mind, is the fact, that whilst humanity and patriotism call us to the work, the nations of the earth look to us that we should do it. They have before them, hung up, as it were in mid-heaven, in view of the whole world, for all to gaze upon, that noble instrument, our Declaration of Independence. That Declaration, it has been well said, is a nation's oath; the solemn and direct appeal of a Christian nation to the high Providence above; an appeal, the responsibilities of which were assumed in the face of the whole world. When I think of that declaration, and of the comment which slavery furnishes upon a certain line of it, I confess that I feel the patriot's glow of wounded pride and deep regret; and, were it practicable, I would fain hold up that memorable instrument to the view of my countrymen, and beseech them to weigh again its solemn import, and retract, amend, justify, or unite in practice which shall be consistent with our declarations. With a voice that should sound from the St. Lawrence to California, and from these shores to the farthest West, should it be done consistently with our obligations to all, I would exhort our country, and intreat every individual to look, and by harmonious action, wipe off from our national escutcheon this dark blot. Would the South prepare the way, and could the resources of our national treasury be brought to the accomplishment of this noble deed, every section of our common country uniting cheerfully in the arrangement, I would greatly rejoice. It would reflect high honor upon our beloved land.

‘Again, we should feel that, as a Christian people, we owe a duty to Africa and her oppressed children. Although a Christian country, our fathers such was the ignorance of those times in respect to the true nature and evils of slavery sinned against humanity and wronged that unhappy pagan continent. We should feel that it is our duty to do all that Providence now permits, to recompense Africa. And we should also feel that if we neglect our duty in this respect, we have the more reason to tremble for our safety, since, where much is given, the more is required. To these considerations, if I remember, I have in some way adverted before.’

‘I cannot see,’ Caroline very properly remarked, ‘how any one who has the heart of a man, can be indifferent to the object; much less how any Christian can oppose.’

Mr. L. after a moment’s pause, here repeated these lines from Pierpont,

“Hear’st thou, O God, those chains,  
Clanking on Freedom’s plains,  
By Christian’s wrought?  
Them who those chains have worn,  
Christians from home have torn,  
Christians have hither borne,  
Christians have bought!”

‘God does hear,’ Mr. L. continued, ‘and already does he who has said “Æthiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God,” see her beginning to stretch out her hands, and implore his blessing. She lifts one hand to heaven and prays; with the other she beckons her children to come up from their house of bondage. If we awake to our duty heaven will be with us; if we will hold back or resist, we may still be assured that God is with Africa. Her cause is the cause of justice, of religion, of humanity. God will favor it, and if we oppose, he may do it at our cost. It is true, the Almighty has not broken the silence of the hea-

vens, to speak in favor of Africa's cause, and of the colonization enterprise; but his approbation has not been withheld. Conducted with reference to his will and glory, with regard to his authority, having also the moral and religious good, as well as the civil and political elevation of the colonists in view, God will still favor the cause. There can be no reasonable doubt that the colonization enterprise is approved by him. As the Rev. Dr. Beecher said, "I do not think that a society, heaven-moved as this society was, by such wisdom as Samuel J. Mills was blessed with, and by such wisdom as he commanded into its service, moved on by such faith and prayer, and so blessed of heaven, as this has been in its past labors, and still is, could have been born by wisdom from beneath. As the natives who chased Captain Wilson, the commander of the *Duff*, until they saw him plunge into a stream so full of alligators that if a man did put his finger in the water it would be bitten off, and who supposed when they saw it, that they need do no more, but upon beholding him emerging and climbing up the bank on the other side, cried, 'Don't fire, he is God's man:' so I would say of this society, it is God's Society. In its commencement it was his; in its progress it has been his; and the station it now occupies in the midst of all the difficulties which have grown out of inexperience, and the peculiar nature of the subject, shows it to be his; and so does its success in Africa."

'It appears to me,' said Caroline, 'that the favor of heaven towards the colonies, and the cause of colonization, is very apparent; and I wonder that any should dare oppose, lest, haply, they "be found fighting against God." And then the fact that so *many* good and wise men who can be influenced on this subject by no sinister motives, some of whom were once unfavorable to colonization, but on examination have changed their minds, are among the warm friends and self-denying promoters of colonization, is to my mind evidence that is almost

“ Confirmation strong  
“ As holy writ.”

A Madison, a Monroe, a Carroll, Judge Washington, our greatly venerated and now lamented good Bishop White, Robert Ralston, John Marshall, William Wirt, Fitzhugh, Finley, Evarts, Cornelius, Wisner, sainted spirits now in heaven with Ashmun, and Mills, and Carey, and Randall, and Cox, and Anderson, and others who died in the service of Africa; what a noble list might we write of its friends from the catalogue of the lamented dead, whose remembrance is blessed! And then the living—what an array of the names of the great and the good come up before the mind!

‘Many prayers ascend to heaven,’ said Mr. L. ‘in behalf of the colonization enterprise. It is a cause dear to many a pious heart.’

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## CONVERSATION XXVII.

“I behold with the sincerest pleasure the commencement of an institution whose progress and termination will, I trust, be attended with the most successful results. I shall probably not live to witness the vast changes in the condition of man, which are about to take place in the world; but the era is already commenced, its progress is apparent, its end is certain. \* \* Where then, my dear Sir, will be the last foot-hold of slavery in the world? Is it destined to be the opprobrium of this fine country?”—*Lafayette*.

‘Good morning, my children.’

‘Good morning, Pa,’ said Henry.

‘Good morning, Pa,’ said Caroline. ‘I have been thinking much of Africa and Colonization, of America and our

duty,' said Caroline; 'and the more I contemplate it, the more the work in which the Colonization Society is engaged, appears so noble and godlike, that I should think it would be considered by all as worthy of the noblest energies of our nature—worthy the efforts and prayers of every patriot and Christian in our land.'

'We have reason to hope that the time is not far distant,' said Mr. L. 'when the benevolent and pious of our land will all engage in this work, regarding Africa, more than we have hitherto done, as a wide field for missionary enterprise, where our most ardent wishes and untiring efforts should be directed. Every passing year, the condition and claims of Africa are more and better understood, and the subject is taking deeper and deeper hold on the honor, the justice, the patriotic and Christian sympathies of our highly favored country. The work will be done—and I love to anticipate the day.

"Where barb'rous hordes on Scythian mountains roam,  
Truth, Mercy, Freedom, yet shall find a home :  
Where'er degraded nature bleeds and pines,  
From Guinea's coast to Siber's dreary mines,  
Truth shall pervade th' unfathom'd darkness there,  
And light the dreadful features of despair ;  
There the stern captive spurn his heavy load,  
And ask the image back that heaven bestow'd :  
Fierce in his eyes the fire of valor burn,  
And as the slave departs, the man return."

Yes, it will be done, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. It will be done—and Africa, enlightened, regenerated, blessed, will remember the Colonization Society as her MOSES, which led her up from bondage. Forgetting her wrongs, obliterating from her mind the dark history of all her griefs, and remembering only the blessings received, she will look to this happy land, and say, breathing the sweet spirit of the gospel of Christ, "There are our Benefactors."



‘I trust, Pa, the vision will be fulfilled. I love to think of Africa as a field of missionary enterprise. It is so extensive, and gives promise of such rich blessings.’

‘As a missionary field,’ said Mr. L. ‘it is limited only by the confines of one of the largest quarters of the habitable globe. Other missionary operations, although successful to a considerable degree, have not had a success corresponding in extent with the piety and benevolence of their aim, or with the amount of means which have been applied. Great advantages are united in the colonization enterprise. “Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary going forth with his credentials, in the holy cause of civilization and religion and free institutions, and the colonies which we establish will be so many points from which the beams of Christianity and civilization will radiate on all that empire of ignorance and sin. These influences *must* be poured in from the western coast. The northern boundary is within the dominion of the false Prophet, and no light is to be expected from that direction. If we look towards its eastern border, we look to the region and shadow of death.” Colonization deviates from the practice of other missionary institutions, and employs as agents the very brethren of the people sought to be converted. “It proposes to send, not one or two pious men into a foreign land, among a different and perhaps suspicious race of another complexion; but to transport annually, for an indefinite number of years, hundreds and thousands of missionaries, of the descendants of Africa herself, with the same interests, sympathies, and constitutions of the natives. This colony of missionaries is to operate not alone by the preaching of the gospel, but also by works of ocular demonstration. It will open forests, build towns, erect temples of worship, and practically exhibit to the sons of Africa the beautiful moral spectacle and the superior advantages of our own religious and social systems. Its means are simple; its end is grand and magnificent. Christianity

will beautify Africa, and civilization will enlighten it. The Mahometans of the North will feel the influence; the Pagans who worship in her forests and groves, will be saved; Abyssinia, now lighted by a few rays of Christian light, will feel the full shining of the Sun of righteousness; idols will fall; human blood will no more be poured from victims sacrificed; the slave-ship will be driven from the coast; and Africa will feel a return of more than Egyptian greatness—more than Carthaginian glory.\*

‘This seems to have been the view which the sainted Mills had at the very first. “If,” says he, “by pursuing the object now in view, a few of the free blacks of good character could be settled in any part of the African coast, they might be the means of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous nations there, and their settlement might increase gradually, and some might in suitable time go out from that settlement, and from others, and prove the occasion of great good.” To what work more noble could the powers of this whole nation be applied, than that of bringing up from darkness, debasement, and misery, a race of men, and shedding abroad over the wide territories of Africa, the light of science, freedom, and Chris-

\* Touching the advantages for prosecuting this great work in Africa, it may be remarked; “access to her coast is easy—by a voyage requiring not more than about thirty days’, intercourse with her inhabitants is practicable. Thousands have been settled on her coasts who are well acquainted with our language. There are no cords of caste, as in many other heathen countries, to be broken—no regularly constructed and long standing systems of idolatry to be undermined or overturned. The African mind is vacant ground to be entered and occupied by Christian truth. On this subject, Mr. Pinney remarks, ‘the carnal heart is *all* the missionary has to meet. The African people have no idolatry to be given up. They never think of such a thing as worshipping an idol. This very destitution of all system of religion preoccupying their mind, opens at once a wide door for missionary effort.’ The African temper is mild—the African character more pliable to the influences of the gospel, than that of most, if not of any other heathen community.”

tianity. Whilst humanity points to the thousands of the victims of the slave-trade, and conjures us to aid in its suppression—and whilst patriotism calls us to seek our country's good, and wash our hands as a nation of the guilt of slavery; religion speaks with loftier tone and instructs us that all men are "one flesh"—that we are brethren—that he who loves not his brother, cannot love God—that all are equally bound to the service of the Almighty—that all are equally entitled to the good offices of each other, and that he who would not lay down his life for his brethren, has not ascended to the height of the Saviour's charity. The day will come when Christian principles shall rule the world, and Africa will be a bright and happy part of the Saviour's dominions.'

Henry here started a difficulty on which he had thought much. 'We will admit,' said he, 'that emancipation cannot liberate us from the responsibility that rests upon us; that we must do what we can to provide for our colored population in a country where they shall be truly free; and that we must be satisfied with nothing short of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and the regeneration of Africa. But is it not to be feared that there may be a lack of mental capacity for self-government, which will after all, render it impossible for the blacks to continue a free, civilized, and independent nation, and make abortive all plans for their separate and independent existence?'

'Recollect, Henry,' said his father, 'that but a few years since the colored population of St. Domingo was sunk in all the degradation and ignorance and improvidence of slavery. They took the work of emancipation into their own hands, and effecting their deliverance, established a regular government, enacted wholesome laws, ably administered those laws, and commenced a march of improvement which promises happy results: a bright example of wisdom and prudence, if we consider that example in connexion with their former debasement.'

‘But, oh!’ said Caroline, with energy, ‘’twas a bloody, cruel struggle.’

‘Yes,’ said Mr. L. ‘there were scenes of violence attending it, which every benevolent heart deplores. The very thought of it makes one shudder.’

‘And yet, Pa,’ said Henry, ‘we cannot but respect the mental capacity and the energy of character which brought the final result. Why, Pa, since the stain of slavery is national, and we as a nation are so deeply concerned in its removal, may not appropriations be made from the national treasury to aid in the object? If our national Congress would agree to sustain the expense of the removal of the blacks who feel disposed to colonize, and to relieve the owners of slaves of a part of that sacrifice which must be consequent on relinquishing their claims, it appears to me that the work might proceed with as much dispatch at least as would be consistent with the safety of the settlements.’

‘Mr. L. replied, ‘Several of our most eminent statesmen have recommended the appropriation of the income arising from the sale of the public lands, to the aid of African colonization. Mr. Madison has suggested that if doubts are entertained by any as to the power of Congress to appropriate the national funds to the object, the requisite authority might easily be obtained by an amendment of the Constitution. It is to be presumed that the States both North and South would approve the measure. In my own view, there is no doubt of the right of appropriation. The public money has been expended in aid of colonization, and why may it not be still further appropriated? Mr. Jefferson said, in 1811, in a letter to Mr. Clay, in reference to a colony in Africa, “Indeed, nothing is more to be wished than that the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.” His various correspondence and efforts in relation to this matter, clearly show what were his views. And, said Mr. Monroe, “As to the people of color, if the people of the

southern States wish to emancipate them, (and I never will consent to emancipate them without sending them out of the country,) they may invite the United States to assist us; but without such an invitation, the other States ought not, and will not, interfere. I am for marching on with the greatest circumspection upon this subject." These distinguished men seem to have had no insuperable difficulty in regard to the constitutional question of the right of appropriation.'

Said Mr. L. 'The enterprise now in contemplation, of steamers of the largest class, holding the same relation to our government, as do the lines to California and to Europe, affording rapid and cheap passage for any number of emigrants designing to go to Liberia,\* is one of the encouraging signs of the times. Add to this, the fact that the States are moving with unprecedented zeal in favor of meeting the expenses of colonizing all colored people who, in their respective borders, may desire to go, and we are assured that the great work is but just begun.

Henry remarked, 'The commercial interest of our own country, I should think, might be greatly promoted by the establishing of such communication with Liberia?'

'Yes,' said Mr. L. 'The establishment of prosperous colonies on the Western Coast of Africa will, in time, greatly augment the commerce of our own country. British commerce with Africa, now amounts to no less than five millions sterling, or about \$25,000,000 per annum. And the belief is confidently entertained in Great Britain, that an immense commerce may be opened with that continent, by putting an end to the slave-trade, and stimulating the natives to the arts of peace. It is calculated that England has received, altogether, \$200,000,000 of gold from Africa.

\* These steamers, the report of the Naval Committee in Congress, (Hon. F. P. Stanton, chairman.) states, will be able each time to take from 1000 to 1,500 passengers; or from 8,000 to 12,000 per annum.



Liberia is adjacent to the "gold coast." The average import into Liverpool of palm oil, for some years past, has been, at least 15,000 tons, valued at £400,000 sterling. It may be produced in any quantity on the coast. Ivory, procurable at all points; coffee, superior to the best Java or Mocha, which is cultivated with great ease, the tree bearing fruit thirty or forty years, and averaging ten pounds to the shrub annually; cam-wood, and other dye-woods; gums, pepper, ginger, arrow-root, indigo, tamarinds, oranges, lemons, limes, and many other articles which might be enumerated, make an aggregate that show that the commerce of Africa is worthy the attention of the United States. The soil is so amazingly fertile, and the seasons so prolific, that two crops of corn, sweet potatoes, and other vegetables, are raised in one year; and the yield is larger than on the best soil in the United States.\* An immense market may be opened for the exchange and sale of the innumerable products of our soil and manufacture; for Liberia is, in fact, the door of Africa. It has been found that those who are now engaged in the commerce of Africa are very unwilling to disclose the extent of that commerce and its profits.†

\* The Rev. J. B. Pinney, some time governor of Liberia, says, "Our garden Lima bean, I have seen covering by its vines a good sized tree, where it had been growing and bearing constantly for nine years! The cotton plant grows for nine or ten years." Says A. F. Russel, Esq. a highly respectable citizen of Golah, Liberia, who has been there for years, "A coffee tree planted and reared, will yield its increase, two crops a year, year after year, bringing its reward with it."

† J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq. in a recent speech, says, "They who will turn their attention to the subject, will find that it increases with a rapidity that surpasses belief. A single house in Salem has twenty vessels engaged in that trade; and whole towns in England are supported by supplying the demand of the Africans for the *fashions*. The other day I picked up a package of blue and white cotton goods, and satin stripes—the latest samples for the spring



‘Has there not,’ said Henry, ‘been considerable acquisition of territory to Liberia since it became an independent Republic?’

‘Yes,’ said Mr. L. ‘By a dispatch of 17th May, 1850, from President Roberts, it appears that the far-famed territory of *Gallinas*, has been secured to Liberia. It had been for years the principal *dépôt* of the slave-trade on the coast. The traffic in all this extensive territory is abolished, and lawful commerce now substituted from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas. Churches, schools, and the habitations of a Christian, enlightened, free people, are now to mark the spot where has stood the barracoon of the slave-trader for one hundred years! The marauding chief has bound his last victim; the haggard Lazarone slaver has rivetted his last fetter; the shark at the mouth of the bar has fed on his last slave gang; the scene, heretofore of the greatest horrors, is henceforth a fruit of the free and independent Republic of Liberia!’

‘The slave-trade, you have observed, has continued,’ said Henry, ‘to the present time, except on those parts of the coast where possession has been obtained by purchase, and colonies have been planted: may we not hope that the entire coast will yet be redeemed from the execrable traffic?’

‘Yes,’ said Mr. L. ‘with the men-of-war of two powerful nations stationed on the coast, sustained at an enormous expense, the slave-trade has been carried on. To illustrate the manner of the slavers’ success, and the defeat of the vigilance of both England and the United States, a single slave-factory,

fashions of the African market!” The same gentleman remarked facetiously, “There are enough of feet in Africa wanting shoes, to keep the lap-stones of New-England ringing for the next century.” (He seems not to be posted up in the progress of improvement in New-England manufacture; the lap-stone has long since been superseded by machinery.) A light-house, at Cape Palmas was erected lately by the Maryland State Society, and now money received from vessels passing that light, forms an important portion of the means to pay the civil list of that colony.

well known and long watched, in sight of which armed vessels lay often for weeks at a time, watching the slaver hanging around and waiting his opportunity, shipped in two months, not long since, more than a thousand slaves. The moment the armed vessels moved from their position, the slaver seized his chance. The vessel *was* American, a few hours before the slaves were shipped! Dashing in, he took on board his cargo, and, before morning, was far away out of danger.'

'Give to Liberia the means of purchasing the territory, and extending its influence, and in less than twenty-four hours the slave-factory is broken up; the slaves collected in it for shipment are liberated; and the slavers, if they do not speedily decamp, are hanged. The natives learn that there are better and honest pursuits in which they may engage; and mingling with the colonists, come to regard the slave-trade with horror. They rise at once in the scale of intelligence and civilization, and become useful and happy members of the human family. And all this is accomplished at less cost than it required to pay the expense of the men-of-war for a single month!'

'Could any thing,' said Caroline, 'more beautifully illustrate the superiority of Colonization over every other means which have been tried for the suppression of the infamous traffic?'

'I love,' said Caroline, 'to think it possible that the day will come, and that it is already near, when our country will find every obstacle removed for the free exercise of our utmost benevolence. I long to see our country free from slavery's stain; I long to see the children of Africa go forth by the free consent of the South, and by the friendly aid of our whole country, from their house of bondage; and I confess I long as much, or more, to see *Africa free* through the influence of the gospel. I was never accustomed, until these conversations, to look upon colonization as a missionary enterprise. But now, viewed in this light alone, it appears to me

one of the grandest schemes of true Christian benevolence that was ever undertaken by man.'

'Colonization,' Mr. L. rejoined, 'proposes liberty to Africa and her children in a nobler sense than is generally considered. It proposes freedom, indeed, from physical bondage; and, although not by any compulsory or objectionable process, which surely should greatly recommend it to all friends of peace and justice, it proposes to secure great temporal blessings to a now enslaved people, and to a continent; but it proposes more—a liberty

"unsung  
By poets, and by senators unpraised;  
Which monarchs cannot give, nor all the powers  
Of earth and hell confederate take away,  
Which, whoso feels, shall be enslaved no more;  
'Tis liberty of heart derived from heaven."

The conversation was now closed with the understanding that it should be resumed on the morrow.

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## CONVERSATION XXVIII.

"The God of heaven, I believe from my very soul, is with us. Under such auspices we cannot fail. With zeal, energy, and perseverance, we shall subdue all difficulties and ultimately realize every hope."—*Henry Clay.*

HENRY observed that he had 'noticed, on looking over the anti-colonization publications, that it is objected that, even if funds are furnished, it will be impossible to transport so great numbers to Africa as the present and rapidly in-

creasing colored population of our country, vessels not being sufficiently numerous for the purpose.\*

Mr. L. replied, 'I know that this is said; and it, perhaps, strikes the mind of the casual observer with some force. The annual increase of our colored population, 80,000 or more being added every year, is great; and the annual increase may be more than 100,000 before the necessary arrangements can be made for the removal of a much greater number per annum than hitherto. But with adequate means, and under the protection of the national government, the transportation of emigrants will become a great and important branch of business. Our navigators will provide ships enough, when sure of a reasonable recompense. A profitable commerce will be opened with Africa for her important native productions; and the growing colonies will themselves navigate the seas, claiming a share of the honor and profits of the transportation. Increasing numbers of the free will also, unaided, find their way to the land of their fathers, and "having formed establishments of their own, and in their turn visiting our shores with crews of colored men, enterprising and prosperous, will draw others after them" to the then happy and growing colonies from which they come.

'How many, suppose you, are every year transported into Canada and to this country, from among the refuse population of Great Britain and Ireland? Thousands of these are sent in crowds and landed upon our shores as forlorn outcasts.† We would do better by Africans than Great Britain, with all her boasted philanthropy, does

\* It has been well asked, "If it be a fact that twenty millions have been torn away from Africa by the hand of avarice and cruelty, cannot the generosity and kindness of a Christian nation carry back three millions?"

† In 1848 the emigration of Irish and Germans chiefly into the single port of New-York was 191,909; a tithe only of all who came. If the efforts of this Society, sustained and encouraged by the general government, should in five years accomplish half as much as has

even for her own children. We would place them under far more favorable circumstances. And our resources are fully equal to all that we can desire, if the national aid may only be obtained. United States' ships of war might be advantageously employed in this service, in time of peace, transporting under the stars and stripes of the national flag, to the land of their ancestors, the sons of injured Africa, where they may enjoy the full blessings of religion and liberty. It would be a noble service, and an honor to our flag.

'It is true, we do not expect to remove a world without preparing for the operation; but the transportation of our colored population can be effected, and expeditiously too, in comparison with the magnitude of the work. Great things are usually accomplished slowly. Liberia has advanced far more rapidly than did the infant colonies of this country.\* It met with obstacles, in its progress, and so did these colonies; and we may well ask, what great human undertaking was ever exempt from difficulties? Are we referred to Liberia's bills of mortality? A large portion of the deaths were attributable to rash exposure, and other imprudencies, under the action of an untried sun, and subject to the action of a strange climate. Another cause is

been accomplished in Ireland by individual action and by slight governmental aid, in the emigration of persons from Ireland, the whole work would be done.

\* The slow increase of a colony at its commencement is the dictate of prudence. "The French colony at Cayenne was begun, as that nation expresses it, on a grand scale; 12,000 settlers embarked, and almost all perished. A few people form the best germ for a colony. Double or treble their numbers every year, and you will see them thrive. Pour in a larger population than can be provided for, and the whole must perish. In this, nature points out our course: the shoot from an acorn rises at first slowly; but as it acquires strength it gains beyond conception, at every annual ring, till the insignificant fruits of one short season sees numerous generations enjoy its ample shade."—*Repository*.

probably to be found in the destitute condition of some of the colonists, who having been just released from bondage, had neither the foresight nor the means requisite for a suitable outfit, leaving them in a situation of exposure which I am sure the experience and wisdom and benevolence of the friends of colonization now guard against. Still the colony can triumphantly challenge a comparison with the bills of mortality of other colonies, in their early history, on *any* continent. Where were the first settlers of Jamestown e'er the four seasons had rolled by? In their graves. Where were a majority of those who landed at Plymouth Rock, before the rigors of the first winter were past? They were numbered with the dead. The same must be confessed of other colonies. True, they were a sacrifice to public good. So the event is now regarded by their posterity and the world; and so the lesser trials which Liberia has encountered will be viewed when the page of history shall bear fair record of the past and the present, and of a few years to come.

'A writer in the Boston Recorder has remarked, "Men may sacrifice life in the pursuits of gain at Havana, at Calcutta, and at any other unhealthy spot on the globe, most prodigally, and no complaint is made. But if a number of individuals fall a sacrifice in a benevolent enterprise, in an effort to pour the light of eternal life on dark and forlorn Africa, why it is a criminal waste of human life. But no, it is not so. Ashmun lived only six years after he went to Africa, but he lived nobly. Mills lived hardly six months, but Mills lived not in vain; his example shines with no feeble lustre; his voice speaks from the depths of the Atlantic, and it will speak till Africa is free. Anderson, and Lott Carey, and Randall, and Skinner, were soon cut down, but their names will live till time shall be no longer." '

Caroline here remarked, 'if we look at missionary operations in India, the sacrifice of life has been as great as in Liberia; has it not, Pa?'



Mr. L. replied, 'the average life of the missionaries of the American Board, in India, has been but five years. Fiske, and Newall, and Hall, and Parsons, and other choice spirits were soon numbered with the dead. But though they found an early grave in heathen lands, and the benevolent mourn their loss, and Christianity weeps at the desolations of paganism, we do not cease to aim at the conversion of the heathen world. India is not abandoned, because trials are there endured in founding the church. Liberia is to the colored man a land of promise, compared with what India is to missionaries from this country.'

Caroline said, 'I do not think that it can be reasonably objected to colonization that its success has been slow, for two reasons; one is, as appears, that such is not the fact; but, if it were, another reason is, that the same objection would be against every good cause, even against the Christian religion.'

'True, Caroline,' Mr. L. replied; 'notwithstanding the toils of its friends for near two thousand years, and the blood of its many martyrs shed in the cause, even the knowledge of our holy religion is confined to a comparatively small part of the human family.'

'Another objection,' said Henry, 'which I have heard, is that, if all the blacks would go to Africa, they would not find *room* there for so many.'

'This objection, I am sure,' said his father, 'can never be seriously urged, unless through extreme ignorance. What are three millions of people to the vast extent of the African continent, stretching 4,800 miles from North to South, and 4000 miles from East to West? They would not be more than would be needed to help civilize and christianize the benighted natives, and establish among them arts, and commerce, and agriculture. Africa, when we consider its extent, its variety of soil, and capability of sustaining an immense population, is thinly peopled. Colonization,

it should be remembered, is not necessarily confined to Liberia and its vicinity. It is a lamentable reflection,' said Mr. L. 'that, charity leads us to think, for the want of a faithful examination of the subject, the most serious obstacles which the cause has met in its progress have been the untenable and oft-refuted objections, bitter opposition and severe denunciations of professed friends of Africa in our own country. It grieves me that it should be so, since among them are some whom I greatly esteem, notwithstanding this their very great error.'

'I do not see, Pa, how any who understand this subject, (and all ought to understand it,) can oppose. If the Colonization Society cannot, in their labors of benevolence, do all that is needful to be done, and as soon as is desirable, yet why should good men object to their attempting all that is really practicable, and that would be, if accomplished, really useful?'

'Professor Silliman has gone so far as to remark,' said Mr. L. 'that all efforts on the part of the friends of African improvement to discountenance and oppose voluntary African colonization, are morally wrong, and can be called by no one milder name than systematized opposition against the whole African cause, embracing slaves, free colored people, and the native nations of Africa.'

'Could the demands of many be realized, and the colored race be made free in this country, however well they may intend, I am sure they would at once and continually have cause to mourn over those who are now slaves, and in their labors of love would find ample employment in visits of mercy to our jails and penitentiaries, and to the haunts of vice and abodes of poverty. They would find the country involved in great ruin; the colored people in great wretchedness, and their very success would be their own defeat, so far as benevolent interest is concerned. But their wishes, I am morally certain, *cannot* be realized, even though rivers of blood should be shed; and the longer the

duration, and the greater the fierceness of their opposition, the longer do they perpetuate the evils of slavery in our land, and the stronger do they rivet the chains of the slave, and the heavier the calamity which they bring both on the bond and the free, especially the slave and free blacks.

‘And then, let them say, shall not Africa be civilized and converted to God ?

“While on the distant Hindoo shore  
Messiah’s cross is reared,  
While Pagan votaries bow no more  
With idol blood besmeared—

While Palestine again doth hear  
The gospel’s joyful sound,  
While Islam’s crescents disappear  
From Calvary’s holy ground—

Say, shall not Afric’s fated land  
With news of grace be blest ?  
Say, shall Æthiopia’s band  
Enjoy the promis’d rest ?”

‘They who have considered colonization in its influence on our own country only, and on the blacks that are in it, have taken a very inadequate view of its amazing interest and unbounded extent. If the plan fail, or be hindered by opposition, they who oppose this great and good work, I do believe, will have a tremendous account to give.’

‘I do not see, Pa, that the Colonization Society and the Abolition or Anti-slavery Society, are associations of necessarily conflicting interests.’

‘They are not, and there should be no controversy between them. “The cause of emancipation will advance as fast as means of emigration and of comfortable settlement in Africa or in other lands are provided. Cut off this hope, and remove this security, and the slave-holding States will refuse to add to the mass of free people of color, already, in their view, too numerous for safety.” They will resolve

on making more strong their chains, hopeless of relief, to guard against a greater calamity than appears to them even slavery itself; and "linked in full military preparation and in wakeful vigilance," they will await the issue. "In the meantime, the slightest appearance or even suspicion of revolt will be visited by prompt and sanguinary retribution." Thus, "anxiety will shroud the domestic circle of the slave-holder in gloom, and despair will settle upon the dark mind of the slave"—until, perhaps, some awful explosion shall come!

'There is one objection to the American Colonization Society which, it appears to me, may with equal propriety be urged against the benevolent institutions of the day generally, and the unreasonableness of which is too apparent to justify any misapprehension of the force of the objection, or to permit its further use; that is, that the Colonization Society does not itself engage in the work of emancipation, urging the duty of immediate abolition. This truly is to object that one great and good institution, which, with great sacrifice, zeal, perseverance, and success, pursues a great and worthy object, is not another institution, aye, quite another thing, which it never professed to be. Why may not the same be objected to all Missionary Associations, Education Societies, Bible Societies, Tract Societies, &c. that their professed object and direct aim is not abolition? They are formed for the accomplishment of great and good objects; but they have nothing to do with an interference in the domestic relations which they find existing in our country. They would send the gospel to all, without distinction of color, that are perishing for lack of vision—they would assist in raising up and qualifying the pious and self-denying to preach the everlasting gospel to a world that lieth in wickedness—they would put into the hands of every son and daughter of Adam the Word of Life—they would scatter abroad, by proper means, that light which may guide in the paths of peace and lead to holiness, happiness, and

heaven ; but they have each their distinct object in view, whilst they are but several parts of one great system of Christian benevolence. The American Colonization Society aims, as one branch of the great system of that benevolence which the Spirit of God has awakened in Christendom, to open an asylum for the oppressed in our land, encouraging voluntary emancipation, and to put an end to the slave-trade and the oppression of Africa by planting Christian colonies upon her shores. Is not the object great and good ? Is it reasonable to oppose a good object because, forsooth, it is not another good object ? Why should so much opposition centre upon colonization ?

‘Those who constitute the Anti-slavery and Colonization Societies, I may confidently say, without at all approving of all the principles of the former, much less of all their language and measures, are agreed for the most part, in their views of slavery as a great evil, and in respect to the desirableness of its termination ; and disagree in respect to the best, and proper, and most effectual means by which, under all the circumstances, its extinction shall be consummated. With an honest difference of opinion on *this* subject, surely each may move under its own banner without molestation of the other, each in its own sphere, at its own proper work : in the use of all proper means, and ultimately, indulging the spirit of kindness and love, and pursuing lawful and honorable measures, they may join together in the celebration of a glorious triumph.’

‘I trust, Pa,’ said C. ‘that bright days are yet before us, and that great and happy results will crown the efforts of the true friends of Africa. I certainly do not see how any can oppose the colonization cause, nor yet, indeed, how they can refuse to sustain its efforts.’

‘Should the cause of colonization fail,’ said Mr. L. ‘those efforts which have hitherto been crowned with such signal success being discouraged, or through opposition rendered fruitless, I am sure that the fond hopes of many a patriot

—the devout prayers of many a Christian—the awakened sensibilities of many a master—and the delighted visions of many a slave—will be most sadly disappointed.

‘Suppose, for a moment, this to be:—the American Colonization Society has opened an asylum for the oppressed—she points to a luxuriant soil, to a genial climate—with gratitude, she tells how God has turned the hearts of the heathen towards the colony—thousands press upon her, anxious to depart to the land of their fathers—masters are ready to permit thousands more to swell their numbers—and she calls to us to help Africa, to help America. The voice of opposition and bitter reproach is heard! Some fold their arms with listless unconcern—others are disheartened and cease from their wonted benevolence—and the opposition triumphs! That wisdom and philanthropy which have been successfully exerted in devising the plan which has caused this hitherto soul-cheering progress in the cause of liberty, humanity, and religion, and in unfolding the resources for its final accomplishment, has all been in vain! That territory so extensive, so salubrious, so fertile, must be yielded again to savage beasts of prey—those flourishing towns, fair villages, peaceful habitations, must be no longer tenanted by a happy new-born race of free-men—those farms must be laid waste—that commerce must close—those lights of religion and science, churches and schools, must be extinguished—those banners of freedom, and those impregnable fortresses over which they wave, and that free republican government and the press which vindicates the righteous cause, must cease—those nearly 5,000 souls charmed with a Pisgah view of promised blessings of learning, freedom, and religion, must be exiled from their schools, their temples of justice, their churches dedicated to God, and from all they now hold dear—and Afric’s dreary coast must again reverberate the deafening yell of despair wrung from many an agonized heart! Would this be a *blessing*? or say, would it be an awful CALAMITY? A



*calamity?* Why, but because the Colonization Society, by the blessing of God, has effected this GREAT GOOD?

‘And now, may this Society, which has been enabled to do so much, and whose prospects are so cheering, be permitted to go on with more than arithmetical progression in its work of mercy. It will, I am confident, never cause to humanity a tear; it may, and I doubt not, will give joy and happiness to millions? Shall it *not* live?—shall it *not be permitted* to prosper? It is preparing the way for the final REDEMPTION of *Africa*, and for the *universal sway* of THE KINGDOM OF THE LORD JESUS! *Who will presume to stay its progress?* To detach from its holy influence is TREASON TO OUR COUNTRY—MOST UNMERCIFUL TO AFRICA—SACRILEGE IN THE VIEW OF HEAVEN! But to aid this cause, is HIGH HONOR—A MOST DISTINGUISHED PRIVILEGE!’



## CONVERSATION XXIX.

“In vain ye limit mind’s unwearied spring:

“What! can ye lull the winged winds asleep,

“Arrest the rolling world, or chain the deep?”—*Campbell.*

HENRY and Caroline were glad, this evening, to have the opportunity of resuming the consideration of the claims of Africa, the blessings of Colonization, and the prospective regeneration of a Continent; for they had come to feel most impressively the force of the sentiment which, in part, we have prefixed as a title to this volume: The Redemption of Africa, the Salvation of our own Country,

and the Glory of America. The deep interest which they felt in the subject led them to hang upon their father's lips with a zeal and devotion worthy of those who seek with candid minds and benevolent feelings for instruction upon questions of such paramount importance.

Henry suggested to his father that both Caroline and himself would like to be informed further in regard to the objections of opposers; and likewise in regard to the influence of Colonization in promoting emancipation, suppressing the slave-trade, and extending Christianity.

'I will endeavor,' said Mr. L. 'to touch upon these subjects with fairness and impartiality.'

'One prominent objection made to the Colonization scheme, is, that it unites some of conflicting views and interests. The objection, you will perceive, is directed to the singleness and simplicity of its aim.

'It has been said that inasmuch as the Colonization Society has for its object simply the removal of the free people of color, with their own consent, to Africa; and is supported in this enterprise "by one class of people for one reason, and by other classes for other reasons," the action of the Society, "being suited to the views of all," it is liable to suspicion.

'On the other hand, the friends of colonization think that the singleness and simplicity of its aim give it great and manifest advantages.

'What though its aim being one, and steadily pursuing that one object, it finds favor from those of somewhat opposite views, and, in some respects conflicting interests; must it therefore, they ask, be abandoned? Let it be so, that some give it countenance whose philanthropy is questionable, whose piety has no existence, whose motives are sinister, still, if the object of the Society is good, and the end to be desired by the philanthropist, the patriot, and Christian, ought we not rather to rejoice that the cause of benevolence and patriotism is promoted? "The presiding spirit, the

life and soul of the institution has ever been, and ever must be, Christian principle. The patriot and the statesman are deeply concerned in its success, and they cannot withhold their influence and co-operation; but it commends itself especially to the Christian heart, for there it finds a chord that vibrates in unison with its noble design. The most active and efficient friends of the scheme have been those whom Christianity claims as her own."\*

Further the opposers of colonization say that to advocate the scheme "on the ground of kindness to the people

\* "The patrons of this enterprise doubtless contemplate its character through different mediums, and yield it their friendliness under the influence of different motives. So various are the objects which it is adapted and intended to accomplish, that one may regard it with favor for one reason, and another for a different reason, while each may feel that the aspect in which he views it, and the particular consideration which appeals effectively to his generous sympathy, are of sufficient importance to justify his unreserved co-operation. Hence, among the variety of reasons that secure the concurrence of its numerous friends, we find the foreign reason and the domestic—the southern reason and the northern—the political, the commercial and the religious reason.

"But there is one patron of this enterprise, whose discerning eye contemplates it in every aspect, and whose candor appreciates all its designs and tendencies, and in whose bosom all these reasons are blended into one, and whose kindness hesitates not to express the cordial wish, and extend the liberal hand, and offer the fervent prayer for its enlarged success. Her name is Christianity. It is because the objects of this Society are good, that she approves them—and because they are both great and good, that she fosters them with her patronage. Contemplating the final removal from our country's escutcheon of a stain which is hourly growing deeper and broader and darker—and designing to alleviate the wretchedness of the free colored population, and place them in circumstances favorable to their physical and moral improvement—and aiming at the elevation of the black to a platform parallel with the white man, she delights in its high purposes, for they are kindred to her own—and she would be recreant to her professions, did she not extend to it her cordial encouragement, and sanction it with her choicest benedictions."—*Rev. C. Stowe.*

of color, as a means of removing the free from prejudice which they cannot rise against here," which, say they, "is the motive with many, is to sacrifice at least two other objects—the missionary cause in Africa, and the extinction of slavery at home. For when we once admit the conclusion that the free people of color cannot be elevated here to an equal enjoyment of the civil and social principles of our institutions, you cease to labor for it. Your philanthropy then aims at the removal of the whole body of the free colored people. But the removal of such a body, so little improved by education and religion, to a heathen shore, cannot but be prejudicial to the spread of Christianity there."

'Again say they, "the effect of colonization is to fasten the bonds of the slave—for slave-holders avail themselves of the facilities which it affords, to drain off the excess of the free blacks, that they may oppress, with the greater safety, those who are still in bondage!" This last objection has been suggested, in substance, even by one to whose philanthropy and benevolence, few who know him, would hesitate to yield the tribute of their cheerful testimony, and the purity of whose motive it is confidently believed is above suspicion. He says of African colonization, "It is a question, whether it should be patronized, whilst American slavery endures. Is it right to induce a portion of the colored people of this country to turn their backs on their brethren in bonds; to go to a returnless distance from them, and to enter upon the creation of new interests and attachments, which are calculated to efface the recollection of those left behind them? We must remember, too, that this is the only portion of that unhappy population, which is at liberty to remonstrate against the cruelty and wickedness of oppression, and to plead for the exercise of mercy. Those for whom they are required to open their mouths, are not permitted to speak for themselves—and we must remember too, that amongst these dumb ones, whose cause

we should thereby deprive of its most natural advocates, are, in innumerable instances, the fathers, mothers, children, brothers, sisters, of those whom we propose to carry away. Were we, our families, and neighbors, to be carried captive into a foreign land, and were you and I to be released from bondage, would it be natural and right in us to separate ourselves by thousands of miles and for ever, from our friends and kindred, still pining under the yoke of slavery? or would it not be a more humane and suitable use of our liberty to cleave to those beloved sufferers—to study the consolation of their aching hearts—and to be getting up every righteous appeal in their behalf to their guilty oppressors? I would not say that there is in the consideration I here present, a fatal objection to the colonization scheme. There is certainly, however, enough in it to lead us to inquire whether we are clearly doing right, and as we would be done by, when we labor to induce our free people of color to desert their enslaved brethren. There is certainly enough in it to excuse the following resolution, (of certain blacks,)—‘*Resolved, That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population of our country. They are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than enjoying fancied advantages for a season.*’”

“These objections are thus stated at some length, for candor requires it. But in reference to them, it may be proper to ask, whether the one objection does not in a good degree nullify the other? If the colored people to whom the Society would afford facilities for removing to Africa, are of such signal service at home, and so essential to their “brethren in bonds,” might they not be greatly useful in Liberia? Or, is the avowed object of their detention to secure their increase, and encourage their co-operation with the slave stimulated by the arguments and persuasions and flatteries of a portion of the whites, until fearful and bloody

scenes shall be the result? It is believed by many that there is but one possible way in which, opposing colonization, the blacks can be led to expect that they shall expedite the abolishment of slavery in our land, or that they can be of essential benefit to their "brethren in bonds," by remaining here; and that is, by the system of compulsion which has been alluded to. For *how* will the free blacks "remonstrate with the holders of slaves?—*how* appeal in behalf of their enslaved brethren, to their guilty oppressors?" Will their remonstrances be suffered at the South?—will their appeals be listened to? Or, are the blacks who are already free to "remonstrate" indirectly, and to "appeal" indirectly, to those who are termed "guilty oppressors," through the influence of the people in the northern States? Could the great majority of the non-slaveholding States be brought to be of one mind on the subject, and should they think and declare their conviction that it is the duty of the slaves, what can they do more? Violate the constitution? Amend it? Either attempt will be the certain signal for the dissolution of the Union, and perhaps for the flowing of rivers of blood. The South are evidently resolved to allow of no interference; and it is honestly believed by many that a much surer way of bringing about unity of sentiment in relation to the course of the slave-holder, is to relieve all parts of our country, as fast as possible, from the evils which seem inseparable from the presence of a degraded population of the colored free. But why, again it is asked, why the solemn remonstrance against aiding the emigration of such free blacks as desire to settle in Liberia, on the ground that their "appeals" and "remonstrances" are needed at home, and that it would be a great dereliction of duty in them "to turn their backs on their brethren in bonds?" Whether the *resolution* referred to would ever have emanated unsolicited from any portion of the colored people themselves, is a question concerning which some have expressed doubts; and how far such a resolu-



tion, and the declaration and use of it as above, is politic and calculated to benefit either the slave or the free, or conciliate feelings supposed to be adverse to the interests of both, admits also of doubt.

‘As to this first objection—it is declared by the friends of colonization that they never designed to remove to Liberia such as forbid the hope of their becoming good citizens of the colony. Moreover when the humane, encouraged, by the door which colonization opens for them to better the condition of their slaves, have resolved on their emancipation, there has usually been an effort, preparatory, to qualify them for the new station which they are to occupy. Besides, not only is great pains taken by the Society in respect to the morals of those sent to the colony, and great encouragement given by the Society to the slave-holder to emancipate his slaves, and prepare them for freedom; but it is a fact well understood, that those freed blacks who are here without sufficient incentive to manly effort, and without the means or opportunity to rise, are inspired with new life when placed in a situation which furnishes greater motive to energy and virtue.

‘Circumstances have great influence in forming the character. “The early circumstances of the people of New-England,” says the Repository of 1831, “rendered them proverbially enterprising; and we recently heard a foreigner remark, that England had hardly made a single invention in the mechanic arts which has not already been improved upon in the United States.” National, like individual character, is often elevated and strengthened by circumstances; and no one can doubt that many causes that can never be realized here, will operate in Africa to develop the talents, invigorate the faculties, and dignify the purposes of the people of color.

‘Nationality is indispensable to the proper elevation of any people, and the full developement of the human intel-

lect.\* How many, who, had they remained here, would have been hewers of wood and drawers of water, undistinguished either for their enterprise, or any virtue, are achieving for themselves and descendants great honor in Liberia?†

\* Dr. Beccher has well remarked, that "There is no such thing as raising the human mind without nationality. You must have the whole machinery of society, or you never will do it. That is the reason the Indians cannot be civilized. It is a slander to say that there is any thing in the Indian mind to prevent it. They are not improved, because you cannot bring upon them the motives for improvement. They have no national existence to bring out their powers. I mourn over their condition; and sure I am, that if they could have one state where their mind would have a fair field to show itself, it would develope as great and noble traits as ever distinguished humanity. I never knew human nature in a state of barbarism where it exhibited such features as it does among our American Indians. As to the poor African, he never can rise without space to move in, and motives to action. If you refuse to move him, you will have an equal number of paupers thrown upon your shores, and then you must support both. The ways of God are high and dreadful. He takes the wickedest of men and causes them to accomplish his own purpose. Their hearts think not so, neither do they mean so; but in their wickedness they do that which God blesses and overrules for good. The coast of Africa has been environed with dangers. It is almost inaccessible to the approach of the white man, and that whole continent has yet to be civilized and christianized; and how is it to be done? God has permitted what has come to pass. He has suffered its inhabitants to be brought here as slaves, and the transposition has scarcely increased their miseries. God is not in a hurry in accomplishing his designs; and by bringing them into a Christian land, he has prepared the way for their being thrown back in a christianized condition on their native shore. I believe that colonization is destined to stop the slave-trade. Your colonies will stand like a chain of light from point to point along the whole dark coast of benighted Africa, and from the colonies will your missionaries go into the interior, until they shall have spread a belt of salvation over that benighted portion of the globe."

† "It would be very difficult to point to any part of the world where new colonists are not, both intellectually and morally, superior to the people in the old country from whom they sprang. Especially is this the case where any pains have been taken to extend

The instances are not a few, and the facts are irresistible. And whilst they have done well both for themselves and posterity, by removal, it is also said in truth, "The elevated religious character of the colonists, their serious observance of the Sabbath, their strict integrity in commercial intercourse, and their habitual propriety of conduct, have secured the respect of the *natives*, and placed matters in such an attitude, that any efforts to promote their temporal and eternal welfare would be kindly received and abundantly successful."

'Is the colony of Liberia such as "cannot but be prejudicial to the spread of Christianity?" It is not the testimony of one alone, as given above; but credible witnesses who have been at the colony, and seen for themselves, and were competent to form a correct and unprejudiced opinion, declare that a more moral community cannot be found together in any part of our own highly favored country! That a good Christian influence has been exerted by the colony, facts that call for gratitude to heaven, and that powerfully urge the claims of colonization upon our benevolence, fully attest. By the removal of the free blacks, they, as a whole, and their posterity, are blessed; at the same time, Africa is blessed, and our own country is benefitted. The influence of the example of the colony upon the surrounding heathen, although that example may not be perfect, is good; facilities are afforded by the colony to missionary effort which, without the colony, could not be enjoyed, and without which facilities in the then present state of Africa, every effort would

to the new settlement the means of moral and intellectual improvement. The colony in New South Wales, composed to a great extent of the most degraded class of the British people, of men and women condemned to transportation for their crimes, is now an industrious, moral, and flourishing community, and bids fair to become the nucleus of a great and respectable nation. New colonies, from the nature of the case, are favorable to the improvement of character."—*Repository*.

be comparatively hopeless; the slave-trade is interrupted, and will finally be utterly broken up; and Africa is being restored to respectability and happiness, that she may rise from the dust, and her once enslaved children and their descendants may obtain a name and a place among the nations of the earth.

‘It would be easy here to multiply instances showing the rapid deterioration, generally, of slaves, as respects morality, industry, and all virtue, when freed, without the stimulus which a new location, where are encouraging prospects of due elevation, gives. We will refer to an instance or two.

‘Said William Ladd, Esq. of Maine, in an address before the Massachusetts Colonization Society, in 1833, in support of a resolution ‘that the American Colonization Society merits the confidence and patronage of all who are opposed, on principle, to slavery,’ “Many years ago I loaded a ship in Savannah, and had for my stevedore one Joe Blog. He was one of the smartest and most faithful men I ever employed. I gave his master a dollar a day for him, and gave Joe privately half a dollar a day beside. Joe was active, sleek, well-dressed and sprightly. *Joe was a slave.* Some years after, I returned to the same port, and sought out my old friend Joe, and employed him. He was idle, restless, ragged, and lazy, and I soon dismissed him. *Joe was free.* And as far as my observation has extended, and I have lived long in slave countries, this is a fair sample of the liberated slaves, though there are noble exceptions. But I consider it more their misfortune than their fault. With other incentive to labor than the fear of the lash, uneducated and ignorant, what better can we expect?”

‘The illustrious Madison, in a letter to a gentleman, published just before his decease, says, ‘You express a wish to obtain information in relation to the history of the emancipated people of color in Prince Edward. I presume those emancipated by the late Richard Randolph more especially. More than twenty-five years ago, I think, they were liberat-

ed, at which time they numbered about 100, and were settled on small parcels of land of ten to twenty-five acres to each family. As long as the habits of industry which they had acquired while slaves, lasted, they continued to increase in numbers, and lived in some degree of comfort,—but as soon as this was lost, and most of those who had been many years in slavery, either died or became old and infirm, and a new race raised in idleness and vice sprang up, they began not only to be idle and vicious, but to diminish instead of increasing, and have continued to diminish in numbers very regularly every year—and that too, without emigration; for they have almost without exception, remained together, in the same situation as at first placed, to this day. Idleness, poverty, and dissipation are the agents which continue to diminish their numbers, and to render them wretched in the extreme, as well as a great pest and heavy tax upon the neighborhood in which they live. There is so little of industry and so much dissipation among them, that it is impossible that the females can rear their families of children—and the consequence is, that they prostitute themselves, and consequently have few children—and the operations of time, profligacy, and disease, more than keep pace with any increase among them. While they are a very great pest and heavy tax upon the community, it is most obvious they themselves are infinitely worsted by the exchange from slavery to liberty—if, indeed, their condition deserve that name.”\*

\* The Washington Union alluding to the statistics of the colored population, showing that the free colored population of the United States has increased only  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in the last ten years, and that in New England it has actually diminished, says:—

“There are those alive who have traced the fortunes of negro families that were taken from Virginia and Maryland to the New-England States about the close of our revolutionary war, and who can prove by unerring figures that those families have decayed and perished almost as rapidly as the aborigines of our country. The tendency of the negro made free, if placed in contact with the white

‘In reference to the other objection—that colonization perpetuates slavery, we may also appeal to facts. Mr. M. Carey said truly, many years ago, that “Among the most promising and encouraging circumstances attending the career of this Society, are the numerous manumissions that have taken place in almost all the slave states, on the express condition of the freed people being sent to Liberia. These manumissions have occurred on a scale that the most sanguine friends of the scheme could not have anticipated. Entire families have been blest with their freedom, from the most pure motives, a conviction of the immorality and injustice of slavery—and in many cases ample provision has been made for the expense of their passage, and in some, for their support in Liberia. They have been thus released from the debasement and degradation of slavers, and sent to the land of their fathers, to partake of all the happiness that freedom and the certainty of enjoying all the fruits of their labor, can inspire.”

‘It would be impracticable to enumerate all the cases that have transpired in which the opening of Liberia has been an inducement to the liberation of slaves. But a few instances may be given as specimens, to show the good influence of the society in encouraging emancipation, and to show the encouragement which is given to the Society to persevere and abound in its great and benevolent work.

‘Colonel Smith, an old revolutionary officer, of Sussex county, Virginia, ordered in his will, that all his slaves, seventy or eighty in number, should be emancipated; and bequeathed above \$5,000 to defray the expense of transporting them to Liberia. Patsey Morris, of Louisa county, Virginia, directed by will, that all her slaves, sixteen in number, should be emancipated, and left \$500 to fit them out, and defray the expense of their passage. Dr. Bradley,

man, is evidently to a state which unfits him more and more to multiply his species and contribute to the civilization of which he is rather a mournful spectator than an intelligent friend.”



of Georgia, left forty-nine slaves free, on condition of their removal to Liberia. Mrs. Elizabeth Morris, of Bourbon county, Virginia, provided by will for the emancipation of her slaves, about forty in number. David Patterson, of Orange county, North Carolina, freed eleven slaves, to be sent to Liberia. A gentleman in North Carolina gave freedom to all his slaves, fourteen in number, and provided \$20 each, to pay their passage to Liberia. William Fitzhugh, bequeathed their freedom to all his slaves, after a certain fixed period, and ordered that their expenses should be paid to whatsoever place they should think proper to go. And, "as an encouragement to them to emigrate to the American colony on the coast of Africa, where," adds the will, "I believe their happiness will be more permanently secured, I desire not only that the expenses of their emigration be paid, but that the sum of fifty dollars be paid to each one so emigrating, on his or her arrival in Africa." David Shriver, of Frederic county, Maryland, ordered by his will, that all his slaves, thirty in number, should be emancipated, and that proper provision should be made for the comfortable support of the infirm and aged, and for the instruction of the young, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and in some art or trade, by which they might acquire the means of support. Rev. Robert Cox, Suffolk county, Virginia, provided by his will for the emancipation of all his slaves, upwards of thirty, and left several hundred dollars to pay their passage to Liberia. A lady, near Charlestown, Virginia, liberated all her slaves, ten in number, to be sent to Liberia; and moreover purchased two, whose families were among her slaves. For the one she gave \$450, and for the other \$350. Herbert B. Elder, of Petersburg, Virginia, bequeathed their freedom to all his slaves, twenty in number, with directions that they should be conveyed to Liberia by the first opportunity. Mrs. J. of Mercer county, Kentucky, and her two sons, one a clergyman, and the other a physician, offered the Colonization Society sixty slaves to be conveyed

to Liberia. Rev. Fletcher Andrew gave freedom to twenty, who constituted most of his property, for the same purpose. Nathaniel Crenshaw, near Richmond, liberated sixty slaves, with a view to have them sent to Liberia. Mr. Isaac Ross, of Mississippi, an officer in the war of the revolution, more recently left all his slaves, one hundred and seventy in number, on the following conditions, viz: that after the death of his daughter, (now a widow,) the slaves who may be over twenty-one years of age shall decide whether they will remain in bondage or go to Africa. *If they determine to go to Africa, all the property is to be sold, and the proceeds, together with the proceeds of the crops till that time, (12,000 or 15,000 dollars excepted,) are to be expended in their transportation and comfortable settlement in the colony of Liberia, and the establishment of an institution of learning in some part of the colony.* If they determine not to go, they and all the estate is to be sold, and the proceeds applied to the endowment of the *aforesaid institution of learning.* A gentleman of Louisiana left thirty to go to Liberia, and directed his executors to pay their passage—an outfit of tools, implements of husbandry, provisions and clothes for one year, and to two of them he gave \$500 each. Another, from the same state, left thirty, making similar provisions for their removal to Africa, and for their comfort after their arrival. In Virginia one manumitted twenty-three, another fifty, another sixteen, and a fourth twenty-five; and many others similar and smaller numbers, all on condition of their going to Africa. In Tennessee many examples similar to the above may be given. One man liberated twenty-three, and another twenty-one, supplying them with ample funds, and also providing clothing for them, and furnishing them with suitable tools, and for paying the expense of their removal to Africa. Her legislature promised to give \$10 toward defraying the expenses of each one who shall go to Liberia. The excellent example of Mr. Turpin, who emancipated all his slaves in South Carolina, and gave

them his estate valued at \$329,000, is worthy of constant remembrance and imitation. Eighteen were liberated by Mrs. Greenfield, near Natchez, on the condition that they should go to Africa; and on the same condition E. B. Randolph, of Columbus, liberated twenty; William Foster, Esq. twenty-one; another twenty-eight; a gentleman in Kentucky, sixty; a lady in the same state, forty; all for the most part young, and all, with very few exceptions, under forty years of age. The Society of Friends in North Carolina had liberated, as early as 1835, no less than six hundred and fifty-two.

‘Numerous applications are constantly before the Society, or its auxiliaries, for assistance in emigrating to Africa. A large number of slaves are, by the decision of their masters, free in prospect, and in a course of preparation for liberty; whilst others will be free the moment they can find a passage to Liberia.

‘It is an unquestionable fact, well worthy of consideration, that the fewer slaves there are in any section of country, the more easy is it to emancipate; and the stronger becomes the tendency to emancipation. The same remark may apply to the absence of a free colored population in slave-holding districts. It is not easy to emancipate the slave whilst, by so doing, you will in all probability increase the dangers that threaten society, and swell the number of those whose freedom seems to be a curse. Besides, as instances are multiplied, those who emancipate their slaves, become a standing monument, in the midst of a slave-holding community “of the triumph of Christian principle over selfish interest—a constant, living reproof to all who still retain their fellow-men in bondage.”\*

\* Much has been said in reference to emancipation, of a *mental renunciation* of the right of property in slaves; “a renunciation which the law would treat as a nullity, and which might be mentally retracted, at any moment, without the knowledge of the community.” One instance, in the midst of the slave-holding States, of bona fide

‘If colonization were abandoned, many Christian slaveholders, who desire to emancipate their slaves, would be deprived of the power of doing so, the laws of the slave-holding States generally prohibiting emancipation unless the slaves are removed from the State. True, it may be said, “these are wicked laws;” and the sincerity of such slaveholders may be treated with discredit, and affected contempt and ridicule may assail them in the place of kind remonstrance and argument—as in the following instance, taken from an “immediate abolition” periodical:—

“—— But are you not aware, Sir, that in many States there are laws against emancipation?” This was uttered with a most imposing air by a man who was defending slavery under the *present circumstances*. “Indeed,” replied his opponent, “but who make the laws?” “The slaveholders, to be sure.” “So I thought; and the unfortunate condition of the poor slaveholders, who have tied their own hands by such laws, reminds me of an anecdote. A lady on going out for a few hours, left some trifling matters to be attended to in her absence, by her little daughter. On her return she found that all the things which were to be done had been neglected.—‘How is this, my dear,’ said she, ‘why have you not done this, and why not that?’ ‘Because I could’nt mamma.’ ‘But why could’nt you?’ ‘Why, don’t you see, mamma, I am *tied* to the leg of the table?’ ‘Indeed, so you are, but who tied you to the leg of the table, my dear?’ ‘*Oh I tied myself, mamma!!*’”

‘This anecdote, quite amusing in itself, whether founded in fact or not, is in its application, to say the least, unfair and sophistical. It supposes that those slaveholders who

emancipation, evidenced by self-denying exertions to locate the emancipated in a land where they may be truly free and blessed, will, it is conscientiously believed, have more force in freeing others, than a hundred auxiliaries at the North, or tens of thousands of speeches and resolves which never reach the eye or ear of a single slave-holder, or if they do, serve only to irritate and shut up every avenue to conviction.

find the laws an impediment in the way of emancipation, are the identical majority of the several States, which have enacted those laws; this, it is well known, is not the fact—and unless it be so, how is the comparison just or otherwise than unkind and insulting to the benevolent and Christian feelings of those who, seeking the best interests of the colored race, are desirous of giving freedom to their slaves?\* Besides, it is possible, not only for individuals

\* “In the year 1770, the friends in the United States declared slavery to be inconsistent with the principles of Christianity, and prohibited it among the members of their body. The Friends of the Yearly Meeting of North Carolina, including a part of Tennessee and Virginia, amounting to many thousands, petitioned the Legislature of North Carolina for permission to emancipate their slaves. It was refused. They continued to press the subject with petition after petition for *forty years*, and with no better success. They at length, without law, emancipated their slaves upon the soil; and what was the consequence? More than one hundred of those emancipated slaves were taken up and sold into perpetual and hopeless bondage, under the laws of the State. Emancipation on the soil was plainly impossible in the existing state of public feeling. After various expedients, and having expended in ten years more than \$20,000 in procuring asylums for their slaves in the free States, the free States made enactments preventing this intrusion of free blacks upon them. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New-York were applied to in vain, the door was shut. Some years since, they embarked one hundred of their liberated slaves for Pennsylvania. They were refused a landing in the State. They went over to New Jersey. The same refusal met them there. They were then left to float up and down the Delaware river without a spot of dry land to set their feet upon, till the Colonization Society took them up and gave them a resting place in Liberia.

“They have now five hundred slaves left, whom they are anxious to liberate; and what shall they do; Get the laws of the State altered? They labored after that for forty years, and more than one whole generation of black men died in bondage while their masters were striving to effectuate *immediate emancipation*. IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION they found to be so *slow a process* that they were obliged to resort to COLONIZATION, in order that something might be done *immediately*. And in such instances, what possible mode of *immediate relief* is there except colonization? Shall they resist the laws of the

who have but little influence in legislation, but even for the *majority*, even for a whole people, without an individual exception, to propose, and enact, and continue, and support such laws, without being liable to the inconsistency and reproach which is intended in the above comparison. Laws are designed for the general good; and if it be not safe for the community at large; and not generous and truly kind, but greatly injurious to the slaves at large, to emancipate them universally and immediately—laws for the preservation of the slave, and the protection of the commonwealth, are necessary and unavoidable; and by those laws *all* good citizens must be governed, without exception.—Every good citizen in that case is “tied,” not by himself, but by invincible necessity—the peculiar circumstances of the case which renders such laws necessary both as an act of humanity toward the slave, and of sacred regard to the common weal.\*

‘I think you will perceive that instead of retarding, Colonization will, and does advance Christianity, and that it does and will promote emancipation.

‘The further consideration of this subject we will now postpone to another evening.’

State? This would be contrary to the principles of Quakerism; and on this point at least, the unlawfulness of aggressive resistance even to legalized oppression, the wrongfulness of destroying human life for the attainment of any political purpose—on this point I must conceive that Quakerism is Christianity.”—*Prof. Stowe*.

\* “Though every virtuous man will aim to promote that state of society which secures freedom and equal rights to every member of the community, and though of the possibility of such a state under the influence of civilization and Christianity, we ought not to despair, yet it is unquestionable that individual freedom and individual happiness should ever be considered subordinate to the public good. *It is not right that men should be free when their freedom will prove injurious to themselves and others.* Hence, in all enlightened communities, the restraints upon minors, and upon all who are found incapable of judging and acting for themselves.”—*Repository*.



## CONVERSATION XXX.

“Whatever may be said in opposition to the wise and benevolent scheme of Colonization ; and however apparently plausible may be the objections of persons who are unfriendly to the cause, it is clearly evident to any individual whose mind is unprejudiced, especially to those who have had opportunities for personal observation and investigation as to the results of that enterprise, that it is one of the instruments in the hands of the Almighty Ruler of the universe for carrying out his wise designs with reference to Africa. And in view of what has already been accomplished, and of the incalculable amount of good which may yet be accomplished, through the instrumentality of the Colonization Society, and of the Republic of Liberia ; surely no true friend of the colored race can consistently oppose the operations of the former, or withhold the expression or exhibition of a sincere desire for the continued prosperity of the latter.”—*Dr Lugenbeel*.

‘PERHAPS I cannot better commence my interview with you this evening, my children, than by reading to you some extracts from the address which I hold in my hands, written by Mr. Birney—“An address to the free colored people, advising them to remove to Liberia.”

‘What, pa,’ said Caroline, ‘the Hon. James G. Birney, who was formerly the candidate for President of the United States, proposed by the party so hostile to Colonization and Liberia?’

‘The same gentleman. You will see that he by no means disguises the fact of his former hostility to the removal of the colored people to Africa ; but that his views, and therefore his feelings, had been much modified. He is a gentleman of great prominence, of commanding talents, and I doubt not of purity of motive. I am happy to recognise any signs of a better feeling beginning to prevail, and wiser counsels given, on the part of any who have hitherto conferred on the glorious enterprise in which colonizationists

are embarked, only frowns and reproaches. Mr. Birney, in a prefatory note, says, the colored people "ought to be *much* reasoned with," and that "every thing that is introduced" (in his address) is "to make very plain to the colored population that they ought to remove to Liberia." In his address, he argues on this wise: "You will soon have to make an election—an inevitable one, too—depending on the open deeds of your class, rather than on their more secret thoughts. The election to which I refer is contained in this question, which each of you may ask himself: '*Shall I, if I am able, emigrate from this country?*' If you have made up your minds *not* to emigrate, there will be no use in your determining to what country you should go. I am not unaware of the noble resolution passed in your meetings some years ago—that you would remain here, and abide the destiny of your colored friends in slavery. Neither am I unaware that, when this resolution was made known, your presence and good conduct among us were thought might be made serviceable in gaining liberty for the enslaved. But that day is passed by; that expectation, apparently so well founded, is vain. The state of case that rendered your resolution magnanimous has changed. Your presence here now can be of no service to your enslaved brethren. By remaining, you only destroy yourselves. Your submitting, suffering, ultimately dying here, can effect nothing on the oppressors of your brethren. The nobleness of your conduct may extract the remark that '*Such a fellow ought to have gone to Liberia; he would have been a great acquisition there;*' but would have no more influence on those who could serve him than the last gasp of a worn-out German on the petty despots of his oppressed countrymen, or of an Irishman on the tyrannous rulers of his brethren. We think more highly of them, *coming over to this country*, than of their wilting, and at length sinking down ingloriously at home: especially do we, if by their self-restraint they *save* something, and send to their friends to get *them* away

too. A plan is prepared by your enemies; it is this; *they are determined to get you away, that they may maintain slavery* more undisturbed. As parts of this plan, they are resolved (and when did they fail in any project to support slavery) to extend it—to bring more persons to be interested and implicated in it, and thus to make all the mighty power of the government subservient to its existence and confirmation.

“*Superiority* on the part of the whites will always be vaunted over you; *as a class, inferiority* will always be acknowledged by you. There are *individuals* who will be *exceptions* only. But the frame of the mind that these tempers are well qualified to beget, will, as a general thing, and in the long run, become habitual. To this I know of no exception. We are told that *white* Americans, with all their high democratic notions, become the most listless and degraded beings when reduced to slavery, as they formerly were by the corsairs of the Mediterranean. It would seem indeed—as if to show how odious a thing slavery is—that, just in proportion as the feelings and honor of men are elevated in freedom, they become low and abject in slavery.

“As long as there was any well-founded hope that the principles of our government would prevail, and that they would in the end exterminate slavery, I wished you to remain here. While I feel still convinced that, should we advance in population and wealth as we have done for the last fifty years, slavery will finally disappear, as it now has in almost all European countries, its abolition will not be brought about by the *principles* of the government, but by the causes mentioned and others united with them. Slavery is a most expensive thing in a dense state of population. When this is the case, freemen will perform, and perform better than slaves, the offices to which the latter are often called. Should it ever be submitted to me, for instance, whether a friend should go to purgatory—from which, it is said, he *may* be gotten out—or to hell—from which they

say no one can get out—I should have no hesitation in advising him to try the former. Or, had I lived in the time of Troy, and had she been able to beat off and defeat the invading Greeks, it is very certain that I would not have advised Æneas and his few friends to seek a new country, through all their perils; but as Troy was burned down, her defenders slain, but few of the inhabitants left, Æneas broken up in his private affairs by death, and loss, and utter discomfiture, the best thing that he and his faithful followers could do, was to seek a new country, where, undisturbed, and under more favorable auspices, they could re-establish the government and laws which they preferred.

“But let us suppose that you have answered the first question in the affirmative, and that you have fully made up your minds to remove. The next that naturally arises is, ‘*To what country shall I go?*’ There are three countries, Canada, the British West Indies, and Liberia, to which you can go, and to the last two you may be said to be *invited*.

“Canada, at best, is a cold and wintry country, with a climate farther north and colder than those in which most of you have been brought up. The most desirable part of it too, the southern, is already occupied by the whites, and the lands are at a higher price than you could afford to pay. Almost of necessity, you will be pushed into the bleak and hyperborean regions of it. Besides, a spirit of contempt and hostility against the colored man, akin to our own, prevails much in Canada. They have their provincial legislature, in which white men, mostly of the Anglo-Saxon race, bear sway. While I would say, go anywhere to get rid of this country, go not there, if you can help it. If you do, you go as an *inferior class*, and many of the ills you suffer here, you will continue to suffer there. Nor do we know—and such a thing is not to my mind more improbable than was, two or three years ago, the passing of the Fugitive Slave Act in Congress—that a negotiation may not be successfully made by this country with Great Britain, in which

may be contained a provision for your being delivered up to this government, or to its proxy, the slave-catcher. Remember, too, that you are to assist in building up the nation into which you go, and of which you and your descendants are to constitute a part. On that account, if you do not think you owe it to yourselves, you certainly do to them, not to emigrate to any land where you will, *by caste*, be an inferior portion of it, and always remain such. And it may be, too,—and if I read the signs of the times right, it will be,—that before very long Canada will be separated from Great Britain, and constitute, in all likelihood, a part of this government.

“Many of our remarks about Canada will also apply to the British West Indies. They too, have their provincial legislatures, though they are not so inaccessible to the colored man as the one in Canada. But the whites there once were slaveholders, and, when compelled to relinquish slavery, they did not relinquish the unjust and domineering spirit of the master. This spirit is seen in their multifarious oppressions of the emancipated people *under color of law*. They seem to be mad at being forced to give up their dominion over the slaves, and, in this cowardly way, take their revenge, as far as they can. The climate is sultry, warm, tropical—warmer, indeed, than many of you have been accustomed to. But it is one of the kind providences of God, that our physical constitutions become more and more adapted to the climate in which we live, especially if it be a warm one.

“But I have said you were *invited* there. ’Tis true, it may be so said. But why? To *labor* for them. That you may assist them in making more sugar than they now have, and in giving new value to old and neglected estates. It is very true that all the honors that can be bestowed there are accessible to the colored man, and that public opinion against him is not so prevalent as it is in Canada. In this respect they may be superior to Canada, but you are *invited*, be-

cause they expect you will be inferior, *as a class*. If you were not to be laborers *for the planters*, you would occasion disappointment. So you would, too, should you emigrate to those islands solely for the sake of bettering your own condition, or of setting up for yourselves. The British West Indies will gain but little distinction till the majority rule there, and till they of that majority show themselves, also, friends of popular rights, and qualified in every way to bear office and transact business.

“There is another reason which ought not to be omitted, and which would, probably, have some influence in dissuading you from settling down in the British West Indies. Like other old slaveholding colonies, they are much in debt, and the taxes are high. Taxes, to be sure, are paid, as we all know, by different interests; but everywhere, and under all governments, they are paid by *labor*, in some form. I know of no exemption that you could claim, were you to fix your residence there.

“Of Liberia I intend to say but little. She is now, and she has been for the last four years, politically detached from the government. She is entirely free, and her national independence has been recognized by France and Great Britain. What is true of it has been as well said as I could say it, perhaps much better. It would be strange, indeed, if its warm advocates had not, in commending it, gone a good deal beyond the truth. That Liberia is no *elysium* is very clear to my mind. Should you conclude to emigrate to it, I would not have you to imagine that you are going to any such place. In saying this, I intend no disparagement of Liberia, below other *new* countries, but they all testify to the truth of the remark. In going there, you are going to a land—rich and fertile I believe it to be—in which much *work*, particularly of the rough kind, is to be done, before the conveniences and advantages you leave behind can be had; where *labor* of the right kind is scarce and hard to be obtained; where society is rude and uncouth; and where,



after struggling with difficulties for a lifetime, you will die, leaving things, it is to be hoped, better than you found them. There may be some exceptions, but I speak not of them, but of the general social condition.

“Lastly, having seen the miseries and evils of slavery here in every way, it is to be supposed that you will exercise restraint enough, not only *not* to engage in it yourselves, but to discountenance any approach to it in others. This should be done on the first and least attempt that way : for although the secondary law, and even *constitutions*, may forbid slavery—as is the case in some of our free States—yet slavery may, substantially, be *practised* ; and you here see “what a great matter a little fire kindleth.” And yet, I must say,—considering who are at the head of the Colonization cause in this country, many of them being themselves slaveholders, or the friends of slavery here,—it would not much surprise me if you were to become somewhat implicated in it ; especially, too, when I remember that some of our early settlers fled from their own country to avoid persecution, and became a good deal remarkable as persecutors here. But be assured, if you tolerate slavery among you, the foundation will be laid of much trouble ; of a superstructure that will be weak and unstable, and that will not stand a heavy blow. But, putting aside all this—notwithstanding reports, which I must say are not favorable, have been set on foot, but which, although they have been reiterated, I trust have been amply disproved from the most reliable sources—what recommends Liberia to me for you, and what ought to recommend it to you, is, that the germs of civilization are there, and the white man does not rule.

“It would not much surprise me if the counsel I have thought it well to offer, were *at first* rejected by you all. Indeed, it would more surprise me if it were not—although you must see that it is offered for *your* good—that it springs from the oppressive principle that gave birth to the Coloni-

zation Society, and from the wrongs inflicted on you by the whites, wrongs that you were unable to resist. I am fully prepared, too, for *permanent* opposition on the part of two classes of the colored people. 1. Those who have made money, however small in amount it must be when compared with the whites, and wish to enjoy it here, content that they and their families suffer all the impositions they now suffer, impositions that, if the belief I entertain is true, will be aggravated in future. 2. Those who have no more energy or force of character than will suffice them to run their chance of getting enough in this country to eat and wear.

“To these two classes, knowing it would be useless, I have nothing to say. But to the more noble-minded; to those who wish to get from under the pressure of irresistible, unjust power; to those who wish to give full sweep to the faculties which God has given to all his children; to those who wish to make MEN of themselves; to those, the sooner the idea is proposed, the better.

“I have said that *at first* my counsel will be rejected by all of you. There may, however, be a few who will not reject it, such as have had rather a dim or obscure view of the plan proposed, and who would not even mention what they knew, for fear of incurring an odium which they could not meet, or of separating from a class of which they still wished to form a part.

“With these exceptions—and only as exceptions ought they to be considered—the colored people have fallen into the notion—a notion in which, perhaps, they have been trained—that it is a point of honor for them to remain in this country as long as their colored brethren are enslaved, and that it will gratify their enemies, the Colonizationists, should they go to Liberia. Admitting that the Colonizationists are all they are supposed to be—a thing I feel no inclination to controvert—it is an unworthy motive, and it will be as sure to injure *you* as any other unworthy motive

is sure to injure him who entertains it. It matters not how small the thing may be, nor whether he against whom the wrong may be done knows of it or not.

“But ought the whole matter of your emigration to be thought of thus? It is too important to be committed to the direction of feeling and passion. It ought to be submitted to our best judgment—to our most deliberate reason—the highest faculty of our nature, and therefore well adapted for deciding such questions. A fair appeal to this power will enable you to determine whether, on the whole, you should leave this country, and what other you should seek.

“But you will no doubt say that this counsel, coming from an old and reputed friend, will precipitate on you evils which you are unprepared for, and which, otherwise, you would not suffer. I would be very far from aiding in any way in bringing about such a state of things, nor do I think that what I have said will do so. But it must be remembered that the ‘oppressor’ here has ‘power,’ and that he has all the effective and official departments of the government on his side; that the whites have already explained away and overlooked the provisions of their Constitution; that they have forgotten and disregarded the humanity we owe all our fellow-beings, and that they will proceed as far as they may think *necessary to accomplish their purpose*, no matter what may be the extremity.

“But some of you, in your dejection and in your oppugnation to injustice, may say, *We can suffer it*. That may be. I will not dispute it. But to be cast down, discouraged, becomes no one whose constant aim is to do right, least of all him who aspires to lead others by perilous paths to safe places.

“Whilst it must be almost needless to say to you that the counsel I have offered is only the expression of my opinion; that it can be disposed of, if unsound, and that, if unsound, it has no binding force on any one; I trust it is equally needless to say, that its fair and candid consideration will

be very gratifying, and that this gratification will be much increased, if it should lead to happy results."

'This address,' said Mr. L. 'coming from one so conspicuous and influential, who has in times past so strenuously opposed migration to Liberia, is a happy omen of other changes in public sentiment. Mr. Birney still labors under some misapprehension of the origin, policy, and merits of the Colonization Society, which perhaps is not strange, after the many years culture of strong prejudices against the noble enterprise; but his address will do good. A more pure, high-minded, humane institution, was never undertaken by man. The ways of Providence are mysterious; but I think the Divine agency which controls, and which is apparent in the success of the colonies, will be more and more recognized and appreciated. I do not believe there is an enterprise of the present age which promises more of real good to mankind, than that of the scheme of African Colonization.

'As a great moral and religious enterprise, for the purpose of redeeming Africa from barbarism, and establishing among its now enslaved and merely animal races, civilization, government, art, science, and religion, it is worthy of the approval and support of every patriot and Christian in the land.

'The beauty of this scheme is, that it is eminently practical. It is real. It has to do with man. It purposes to improve and elevate him—to teach him how to live, and to make life a blessing, instead of a curse. Its object is the mighty one of civilizing Africa, through the instrumentality of her own people; of building along her ocean-coasts towns and cities and villages, populated by an industrious, intelligent, and Christian people. Such an object should not be abhorred by any man who has in him the spirit or the desire of doing good.

'The inducements held out by Liberia to the colored people of this country, to make the new Republic their home, are constantly augmenting. None who are acquaint-

ed with the facts in the case can fail to perceive that the full development of the faculties of the colored man, and the highest reward for honorable exertion, are secured to him only in Liberia. There is opened a wide and clear field for his best present good, and his greatest future advancement. The more intelligent and educated he becomes, the more he will appreciate the advantages of citizenship in Liberia. Whatever prejudices have existed against the colonization scheme, are, where there is a candid, intelligent mind, and an honest, humane heart, yielding, since the organization of the free Republic, and the exhibition of its prosperity and wonderful success.\*

\* The whole movement has, we believe, from first to last, been regarded with jealousy, if not hostility, by the abolition party, who saw in it only the dislike of white for black, and shut their eyes to the religious and philanthropic object. We do not profess to know how far this was a reasonable feeling on the part of the worthy men who are standing up for negro rights in America; but assuredly, whatever were the motives of the Colonization Society, the consequences of their acts are such as to give them no small ground for triumph. For any thing that we can see, their settling of Liberia has been the most unexceptionably good movement against slavery that has ever taken place. Perhaps it has not been the worse, but rather the better, for that infusion of the wisdom of this world which has discommended it so much to the abolitionists.

It occurs to us that the Colonization Society needs no other defence for its policy than to point to the spirit which has all along animated the black people who emigrated to Africa. One sentiment, that it was worth while to encounter all the possible hardships and dangers on a foreign strand for the sake of *perfect freedom*, appears in the whole conduct of these men. They appear to have been generally persons of decided piety, and the missionary spirit is conspicuous at every stage of their proceeding. Not less important as a testimony to the same effect has been the energetic contention which the colonists have kept up against the slave-dealing propensities of the native princes. These men felt from the first that the Liberians were enemies to that traffic which gave them their most valued luxuries, and here lay the greatest difficulty which the settlers had to encounter. Their early history is a series of martyrdoms visited upon them by the slave-trade.—*Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*.

“There is,” Mr. Webster has well remarked, “a power that sees the end of all things from the beginning. God is his own interpreter. The cupidity and criminality of men were often, under Divine Providence, made to work out great designs for the good of mankind. African slaves were brought here almost simultaneously with the advent of the whites themselves. In our short-sightedness, we see only the desire of the white man to possess himself of the labor of the black. Those black men, when first brought here, the victims of war and violence in their native land, were ignorant, brutal, without knowledge of God; but now their descendants, though in a condition, it is true, subordinate, inferior, and enslaved, have learned and have come to know more than any or all that they left behind them in their native and barbarous Africa. And this seems, indeed, to be the mode, the rule established by Providence, by which Christianity shall be returned to that continent. How plainly is this an indication of Providence! He who goes back to Africa under the auspices of this Society is an intelligent man; he knows he is an immortal man; and he is in every way infinitely more advanced than his ancestors were when they were first brought to America.”

‘The Rev. E. W. Stokes, who went to Liberia with strong prejudices, writes, in 1851, to the Rev. Dr. King of Glasgow: “Liberia is proud to differ from all other nations in a very important point. She is settled in the midst of a great heathen nation, but she does not destroy them. The heathen do not disappear before her, as has been the case with other civilized people who have migrated to heathen lands. On the contrary, the heathen live and flourish in the very midst of the Liberians, looking up to them as fathers and friends. Instead of driving them out or putting them to the sword, we encourage their growth, and every available means is resorted to in order to bring them into a better state of morals and religion.”

‘The Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D. the venerable



Professor of Theology at Princeton, said, under date of May 1, 1850: "I have watched the progress of the Colonization Society from its commencement until this day; and though always favorable to the scheme of providing an asylum and a home for the free people of color, whose situation in this country is so unfavorable—yet, for a long time I entertained no sanguine expectations of success in planting a colony on the coast of Africa, with the feeble means possessed by the Society. But the design, I believe, was from God, and he has given efficacy to exertions which most men predicted, must prove abortive. I have laid it down as a rule for myself, never to oppose any scheme of benevolence, where the end was good, the means lawful, and the motives pure; and, in regard to the Colonization Society, I am constrained to declare, that I have never known any enterprise in which selfish motives had so little opportunity for exercise; and in which disinterested benevolence has been more clearly manifested.

"There is not upon earth a more wonderful phenomenon than the little Republic of Liberia, governed as it is, by men of as sound wisdom as can be found in the counsels of any country: and what renders this fact so remarkable is, that these men have grown up in Africa, and received their training in a country where, until lately, the most ferocious savages only had their residence.

"In future ages, when the impartial historian surveys the events of the first half of the nineteenth century, he will be apt to fix on the planting of this colony, and the establishment of this Republic, by a Society, unaided by Government, as the most remarkable achievement of the whole period. Perhaps it is one without a parallel in history."

## CONVERSATION XXXI.

“ Dim through the night of these tempestuous years,  
A Sabbath dawn o’er Africa appears.  
At home the bonds of peace her tribes shall bind,  
Commerce abroad espouse them with mankind,  
While pure Religion’s hand shall build and bless  
The Church of God amidst the wilderness.”—*Montgomery.*

‘I notice in various publications of the day,’ said Henry, ‘that it has been proposed to establish in Liberia a Collegiate Institution?’

‘Yes,’ said Mr. L. ‘the design is to educate the colored man in Africa, to prepare him for that freedom which he can there, and there only, enjoy without alloy, but which, without mental and moral culture, would prove worse than slavery itself. The Society which undertakes this, (the Society for the Promotion of Education in Africa,) hopes to “have a bearing on the interests of the colored race in our own country by the reflux influence of the moral elevation of Africa itself.” The establishment of a College in Liberia has long been a favorite idea with many prominent friends of the African race. Believing that knowledge is power; and that self-preservation even, whether of the individual or a people, is not secure by physical force alone; they have looked forward to the location of such an institution in Western Africa as an object of great interest. As intelligence creates resources, opens channels of wealth, extends commerce, improves the arts, establishes manufactures, gives permanence and honor to a community; and when founded in moral principle, raises the standard of human character, securing domestic virtue and national prosperity; so it also throws a shield of protection around liberty, life, and

property. The colored race cannot be effectually disenthralled from their present degradation, except as they enjoy the blessings of a good education. Great pains have been taken for the establishment of primary or common schools in the colonies, and for extending the benefits of elementary instruction to all classes of the children. The Society proposes to extend these principles still further, having special reference in its operations to the benighted tribes scattered over the continent. A college is needed to give efficacy to all these institutions, and to follow up to its full blessing the good work nobly begun.

‘A philanthropic and judicious writer in the New-York Observer has these very sensible remarks in respect to the location of such an institution in Liberia:—“Great changes are in progress. It requires no prophetic vision to perceive that the destinies of the African race are opening and brightening. The elevation of many individuals is not to be prevented by slander or unkind treatment. There are among them some of nature’s noblemen in intellectual power, no less than in physical structure. Their redemption from ignorance and abjectness at home, and the melioration of their state in foreign exile, hasten on with rapid stride. The genius of the age, and the intimations of the divine will, point to such results. Selfish interests and personal prejudices die with men, while time rolls on its tide without our aid or consent. Some of these changes will be accelerated, not retarded, by the rod of oppression. Men of cultivated intellect and various talent will be wanted among the people of color, as soon as they can be educated. They are to occupy responsible stations, and to do a momentous work. They are to prosecute researches into the geography and commercial resources of Africa; to establish a republic on its western coast, and to publish the gospel of the Saviour to its superstitious tribes. It is contrary to all analogy to suppose otherwise. White men may make establishments, commercial and religious, on the capes and islands of that

continent, but it is for men of color to pass up its rivers, to cultivate its valleys, and introduce the arts and institutions of a Christian land through its wide extent of surface. It is for men of color to found schools and churches, pursue its agriculture and commerce, and conduct the whole machinery, on which depends the wealth, prosperity, and elevated character of this infant republic.

“There is a strong sympathy with the African race. It can hardly be restrained by sober judgment and a regard to the principles of common justice. It seeks to find out channels in which its exuberant compassion may flow forth. That race, in the mystery of Providence, has been subjected to much suffering. To say that many have endured a long bondage, a period of exile from the land of their fathers, like the slavery of Jacob’s family in Egypt, or the captivity of Judah in Assyria, is only a declaration of historical facts. And this injury has been inflicted by the most intelligent and Christian nations on the globe. That a rich return is to be made to their descendants in the arts of civilized life, and in the inestimable blessings of the Christian religion, cannot well admit a doubt. \* \* If we stop with the rudiments of knowledge, we only begin the work. The paths of science are not trod, the powers of the intellect are not developed, the dignity of our nature is not fully displayed. No historian records a nation’s annals, and no poet writes its songs; no astronomer marks the phenomena of the heavens, and no geologist digs into the treasures of the earth. Without a college, there are no profound scholars, no elegant writers, no large libraries, no inquiries into the antiquities of past ages, or into the aspects of future times. Soon will the common school lower its standard, if there is no higher institution. Soon will the general intelligence of a people decline, if there are no learned men, with whom they are conversant and to whom they may look as examples. Soon will the authority of the Bible be veiled in doubts, if there are none who are competent to read its

ancient languages, demonstrate its divine origin, and answer the cavils of infidels. There is no security against a retrograde movement in any human society, but in a constant effort to advance.

“ Who are to navigate their ships? Who are to teach their children? Who are to be the pastors of their churches? Who are to be their legislators, governors, judges? Who are to lay the sure foundations of an intelligent, virtuous, and happy republic? Who are to extend a civilizing influence over hundreds of petty tribes along a coast of three thousand miles and into regions of the interior, as yet untraversed by Europeans? It sickens the heart to hear it suggested that the ignorant and vicious are to be entrusted with these stupendous interests, which involve the dearest hopes of many generations, and on which depends the successful prosecution of one of the noblest enterprises which has ever blest humanity in this or any other age. It sickens the heart to think that its government may degenerate into anarchy, and its religion into fanaticism, that its energies may be exhausted in selfish and mercenary speculations, until the slave-trade shall be renewed where it is now extinct, and the arts of war supplant the peaceful pursuits of agriculture and the manufactures. It sickens the heart to think that many lives may have been sacrificed, and much treasure expended to little purpose, that tears have been shed and prayers offered in vain. The failure of Liberia, as the germ of a free and prosperous republic, is not to be contemplated as possible. But there are various means to be employed to render the enterprise more sure. Among others, a liberal system of education is one which requires a college as an indispensable appendage.”

‘ Amongst the reasons which this writer assigns for the location of such an institution in Liberia, are these:—“It will be in the land of the African race. That land is a continent wide in territory, rich in resources, and open to the entrance of her own children. If three or four millions of

that race are dispersed in foreign lands, two hundred millions are to be found on their native soil. Some thousands of freemen, who are advancing to wealth and higher distinction, have made it their home. The native population is easily accessible.\* It places the pupils beyond the reach of

\* In reference to the opportunities and desire for instruction among the natives, which is indeed truly remarkable, Mr. Pinney, who went from Georgia, as a missionary, under the Western Board of Foreign missions, reports, "Many of the children of the natives have seen what they call 'America man fash,' (fashion,) and through their report, and from their own observation, the natives in the vicinity of our settlements are informed as to the superiority of our knowledge, and desire to partake of the benefit. This desire exists, I will venture to say, at this hour in more than 100,000 of the natives in the neighborhood of our colonies. Most of the young men, sons of chiefs or headmen, act as servants, to bring wood and water, and go on errands, and perform all sorts of servile offices, for the sake of obtaining a smattering of the English tongue. It is the leading youth of the country, such as in their own tribe are considered as gentlemen and princes, who are in a particular manner anxious to learn our language, and adopt our customs. Who does not see, in this important fact, the germ of Africa's future improvement?"

In respect to another portion of the same continent, the Rev. J. L. Wilson, a missionary from South Carolina, in the employ of the American Board, says, in conjunction with his companion, Mr. Wynkoop, "along the whole coast where we have been, we uniformly found the people desirous of schools; and from what we have seen ourselves and heard from others, we are induced to believe there is not a town on the coast where a Christian teacher would not be heartily welcomed. We would confidently say, that there is a universal desire, nay, an imperious demand for Christian schools. Wherever it was made known to the inhabitants of the towns on the southern coast, that we were going to Cape Palmas for the purpose of teaching the natives, we received applications to send American teachers to their towns. Not unfrequently they asked a written promise to this effect." At Rocktown they gave the king and his head men a written promise that a teacher should be sent them if possible. Yet, they say, "after we were distant 290 miles on our way home, we received a message from them, reminding us of our promise. This desire for schools has doubtless grown out of an acquaintance with civilized nations. From the example of a few natives whom we have seen pursuing their educations and the



that oppressive power which they feel in this country, and they are left to the influence of all the high and inspiring motives of ambition, honor, and usefulness. In these States, in the vicinity of their enslaved brethren, they are dispirited. They do not find themselves stimulated by the prospect of emolument, or office, or equal rank. Why should they study? Why aspire to learn? What is the reward of diligence? Besides they do not often enjoy the facilities of instruction and books, which fall to the lot of other children, especially in early years. It is not chiefly any want of industry or native talent which leaves them behind others of their age. This disparity can be satisfactorily traced to causes which cannot be removed till they are taken out of this state of society and allowed to inhale a free atmosphere. See the African youth on his native soil, erect, gay, and buoyant; here he is depressed and downcast. There are some schools for children of color in this country, and many individuals of both sexes have made commendable improvement. They have evinced sufficient capacity. But as a diffident child cannot look up in the presence of strangers, so they are oppressed with an incumbent load which no impulse of genius can enable them to shake off. A fair experiment in their education cannot be made in this country. The constitution of society forbids it. In their own land no distinction of color will remind of their exile, no frown of a master will check the rising emotion of joy, no exclusion from public office, and no inferiority of rank will chill the energy of the soul. Fame, and wealth, and official honor will in-

earnestness and facility with which they learn—we cannot think that any judicious efforts to meet their desires in this respect will be fruitless."

The Rev. Dr. Philip, of South Africa, furnishes testimony to the same effect respecting that portion of the continent; and what is amusing, relates that "one chief among the Caffre tribes of South Africa proposed to *purchase* a missionary—and was willing to give one thousand head of cattle for a teacher to come and live with him and instruct his people."

vite them to aspire to excellence, and reward their patient industry. Why should they not become learned in abstract and useful science? Why should they not cultivate the fine arts, painting and sculpture, music and poetry? Some of the colonists grow rich with great rapidity; why should they not accumulate funds of knowledge? Give them the opportunity and the inspiring motive, and there is no uncertainty respecting the result. If a literary establishment should be made in the colony of Liberia, there is no apparent reason why it should not be perpetuated through the successive periods of its future history with enlarged resources and increasing usefulness. Pupils need not be wanting. The intelligent sons of native chiefs, the sons of colonists, young men of enterprise and talent in the West India Islands and the United States, may here find an asylum where they may prosecute their education without prejudice. This will stimulate the ambition of the native tribes; reward the fidelity of colonists who have borne the burden of the work, and elicit the talent of the race wherever it may be found. Especially may such a seminary prove to be a 'school of the prophets,' where the Saviour of the world may prepare his servants to publish his gospel of mercy to the millions on that continent. Besides that continent is to be their future theatre of action. And it is an ample field. It is not a little island invironed by the sea. It is not a section of country where they will be exposed to eneroachments from men of a different color and superior power. It is not in subjection to a despotic government with which they can feel no sympathy, and in the administration of which they can aspire to no share. Nor is its language, like that of Hayti, intelligible to a handful only of all the race. Nor is its religion mystical and established by law, denying to individuals entire liberty of conscience in the worship of God. Whatever islands or sections of country may in the course of time fall into the possession of the people of color, the continent of Africa itself is the cradle and the home of the race. The

results of their enterprise and talent are to be exhibited there. In despite of all that philanthropy can accomplish, neither the United States nor the British Islands will furnish an inviting field to men of color for half a century to come. As they advance to wealth and knowledge, they will resort to the father-land, whether for culture or commerce. They will seek it as an asylum, a home. There will be no need of external compulsion or constraint. Nor will they wait for pecuniary aid. It will not be easy to retain them to hew wood and draw water in other lands. They will there be the proprietors of the soil which they cultivate, enjoy a government which they themselves administer, and introduce the religion of their enlightened choice. And shall the want of a few thousand dollars prevent the immediate commencement of a work so imperiously demanded by the wants of a whole race? Will not the statesman, the philanthropist, the rich merchant, give to this enterprise a candid investigation and a liberal patronage? And especially may it not be commended with confidence to Him who controls the destinies of nations, and who is pleased with the good conduct and highest happiness of men?"

'Such an institution,' said Henry, 'would reflect great honor upon its founders, and I am sure would greatly encourage the hope of Africa's final triumphs.'

## CONVERSATION XXXII.

“Lo ! once in triumph on his boundless plain,  
The quiver'd chief of Congo lov'd to reign ;  
With fires proportion'd to his native sky,  
Strength in his arm, and lightning in his eye !  
Scour'd with wild feet his sun-illumin'd zone,  
The spear, the lion, and the woods his own !  
Or led the combat, bold without a plan,  
An artless savage, but a fearless man !  
The plunderer came :—Alas, no glory smiles  
For Congo's chief on yonder Indian isles,  
For ever fallen ! no son of nature now,  
With freedom charter'd on his brow :  
Faint, bleeding, bound, he weeps the night away,  
And, when the sea-wind wafts the dewless day,  
Starts, with a bursting heart for ever more  
To curse the sun that lights the guilty shore.”—*Campbell.*

‘THERE is one subject,’ said Mr. L. ‘that I meant to have noticed before, and that is the importance of some better understanding between our own government and others, in respect to the right of search. By treaties between some of the powers, the mutual right of search is conceded to the government vessels of each nation, of such merchant vessels of the other as may be reasonably suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade, or which have been fitted out with that intent, or that, during the voyage in which they are met with by said cruisers have been employed in the slave-trade ; and the said cruisers are authorized to detain them, and send or conduct them to one of the places appointed by the convention of treaty for trial ; this mutual right of search not to be exercised in any part of the Mediterranean sea, nor in the seas of Europe which lie north of latitude 37, and east of longitude 20 W. from Greenwich. To prevent difficulties and injuries which might otherwise arise, it has been

provided, that when vessels of either nation shall be arbitrarily and illegally detained by the cruisers of the other, the government whose cruisers have caused the detention, shall indemnify the owners, &c. of the vessels for all damage resulting therefrom, which is to be determined agreeably to provisions made for that purpose. Such a treaty between the United States and other friendly powers, would greatly facilitate the absolute abolition of the slave-trade. I say *absolute* abolition of it, for it is a painful and notorious fact, that notwithstanding all the precautions that are now used, vessels are fitted out from some of our own ports by unprincipled men, whose vile purpose is obvious, but who escape with impunity, because the proper officers cannot arrest vessels without proof of their having violated the law, by the commission of overt acts. A law giving to our local authorities and naval officers, powers over American vessels, touching this matter, similar to those which Great Britain exercises over her commerce; and especially, if practicable, an understanding with foreign powers which shall concede a limited and mutual power similar to that to which I have already adverted; and the presence of a few American cruisers on the African coast, to co-operate with those of other nations authorized to destroy the slave-factories and barracons wherever they may be found on the coast, would greatly hasten the final and total extinction of the trade.'

'But I am surprised, Pa,' said Caroline, 'to hear that there are any yet remaining in our own country who would clandestinely engage in the African slave-trade, and that it is possible for vessels to sail from our shores to be so employed.'

'It is lamentably true, as it is surprising. By recent information from Africa, it appears that American built vessels are regularly engaged in this accursed trade. The way of procuring them is said to be as follows:—"Mercantile houses in the Havana, and other ports in Cuba and Porto Rico, send orders for fast sailing vessels to their correspon-

dents here, of course saying nothing about their being designed for slavers. When launched, they are frequently equipped at Baltimore and New-York. Even the shackles for securing the slaves, and the gratings to cover the hatches, not unfrequently go from this country; though a part of the latter are sometimes prepared on board. The shackles are put up in barrels, and shipped as merchandise. The crews are principally Spanish and Portuguese, French and Dutch Creoles, and a sort of *Lingua-Franca*-men, of no nation, or rather of all nations, belonging nowhere, or everywhere, and speaking all the Atlantic languages. Some of them picked up in New-York or Baltimore for the voyage, and others after she arrives in the Havana. These are all desperadoes. Some of the crew, I am sorry to say, are said to be, in some instances, Americans, who sometimes do not know the nature of the voyage until they arrive on the coast of Africa. The slaver sails from our port as an American vessel under the American flag, with American papers, and appears like a regular trader. She goes to the Havana, is denationalized, receives a new name, and takes Spanish colors and Spanish papers. Sometimes, but rarely, this is done at the Cape de Verd Islands. These vessels sometimes put into Sierra Leone; but, as all appears fair and smooth, and strictly *en regle*, it is impossible to prove that they are slavers.”

‘Where, Sir, are the slaves which they obtain carried?’

‘Some have been carried to Brazil; some to the Spanish Islands, from whence they have been smuggled in considerable numbers into Guadaloupe and Martinique.

‘Are those places from whence slaves are now obtained remote from the colonies of Liberia and Sierra Leone?’

‘Yes; there are no slave-factories from Cape Palmas eastward, for several degrees of longitude. But to show you the extent of the trade on different parts of the African coast, probably at this moment, I will mention the establishments which through the colony at Liberia were ascertained to exist beyond the reach of any colony’s pre



sent influence. Some of these I am happy to say have been broken up by the extension of Liberia. This information you will find communicated in the Colonization Herald for December 19, 1835. I give it as it was communicated:—"At Bissao, a Portuguese settlement near Gambia, it is carried on extensively, but not with the open countenance of the local government. The River Pongas, 120 miles north of Sierra Leone, is an extensive slave-market. The river is navigable for large vessels 60 or 80 miles, and has several slave-factories on its banks. About 2000 slaves are carried away annually. Three of the gentlemen who communicated these facts saw seven slavers in the river at a time. At the mouth of the Shelear river, a little south of Sherbro Island, a considerable number are sold annually. The mouth of the Gallinas is the great slave-mart north of Cape Palmas. At this place are two very large factories, with their appropriate suite of barracoons, or out-buildings to house the slaves, as they are sent in by the neighboring chiefs. These factories are about 120 feet in length, are handsomely fitted up, and elegantly furnished. They are occupied by two Spaniards, whose names we know, one of whom is very rich. They are said to have their regular agents in (two cities in these States!) No less than eight thousand slaves are annually shipped from this one place. Slavers are almost always lying there. They saw four slavers at the Gallinas in October last. One of them was to sail on the 14th or 15th, with 450 slaves on board. Two of our informants saw them dancing in two circles on the beach. At Sugry River and Cape Mount, about 80 miles north of Monrovia, a considerable number are sold every year. They saw two slavers lying there in October. Cape Mesurado was formerly an extensive slave-market before the settlement of Monrovia. It is now wholly broken up. The same is true, in a degree of the mouth of Junk River. One of the gentlemen has seen the remains of the old slave factory, which stood near the mouth of John's River, before

Edina and Bassa Cove were planted. In 1834, before the purchase of Bassa Cove, 500 were shipped from that place, in a single month. Since then the slavers have left the river. Sestras River is, as they suppose, the only remaining regular slave-market between Cape Palmas and Monrovia; and in the numbers which it furnishes annually, is probably inferior only to the Gallinas. In addition to this, the slavers lie at anchor for a few days, in numerous other places along the coast, where no factories have been erected, to pick up the slaves in the immediate neighborhood, who have been just taken in war. The captains of the slavers are generally men of polished manners and gentlemanly appearance. One of them was, some time ago, particularly kind to the captain of the vessel in which one of our informants sailed; sending him a case of claret, and utterly refusing all compensation. The slavers are all sharp built vessels, intended expressly for fast sailers. They mount commonly one gun, sometimes as many as eighteen. The one gun is a long 32 pounder; and, where there are more, some are always of this description. \* At least 100 slavers are to be found annually between the river Pongas and the Bight of Benin, including both. The following places in the Bight of Benin are extensive slave-markets, with regular factories: Badagry Point, Lagos River, Benin River, the River Nun, and more especially on Brass River, one of its bayous. The following are similar establishments on the Bight of Biafra: Old Calebar River, the Camaroons, the River Gaboon, and Cape Lopez. The slavers in the Bight of Biafra are at present exceedingly numerous, and are spoken of as amounting to *hundreds*.’”\*

\* We copy the following account of the slave-trade from a letter in the *Boston Journal*, by an officer on board one of our ships on the African station, dated 1851:—

‘I very much regret to say, that for a long time the greatest facilities for carrying on the slave-trade have been afforded by the prostitution of our flag. I believe full one half of the negroes shipped

‘But the area of the slave-trade has recently been greatly contracted, as I have before suggested, by the extension of Liberia. Still, however, it exists beyond the reach of the colonies.

from the Congo southward, have been made in vessels under its cover.

‘The position which the United States occupies upon the right of visitation and search is such, that a “bona fide” American vessel cannot be molested by a British cruiser, even with a full cargo of negroes on board. England, by treaty or convention, has secured the right under certain restrictions of visiting and searching all suspected vessels, except those wearing the American flag; such are sacred, and thus guarded, may embark hundreds of slaves under the guns of the British Commodore himself, avoid all interruption from foreign cruisers, and by hoisting the Brazilian flag may escape capture by our own.

‘Now, I believe I know my duty as an officer too well to find fault with the acts of my Government, but after two years’ service and experience as an African cruiser, and not wholly without observation, I am free to say, that could the United States authorities consistently make an exception to the general rule, so as to allow vessels notoriously engaged in the slave-trade to be detained by the British cruisers and delivered up to our own, the disgraceful traffic would be greatly curtailed, and especially would the vile prostitution of our flag be prevented.

‘As to the entire suppression of the slave-trade by the present system of blockade, I must confess I am thoroughly skeptical. In spite of the sleepless vigilance and constant motion of the numerous cruisers hovering along this coast, it is estimated that no less than thirty thousand were, during the past year, sent into bondage from the southward of the Voltee. Sir Charles Hotham, the late able commander of Her Britannic Majesty’s naval force on the African (West) station, having at his disposal a most effective force; and after two years of active and laborious service, failed to do more than partially interrupt it, and is clearly of the opinion that other instrumentalities must be used for its eradication. The means he relies most upon is *Colonization*—particularly as exemplified in the Liberian Colonies; a fact which is no less interesting than pleasing to Americans, being a just tribute to the sagacity and enlightened philanthropy of the founders and friends of our Colonization scheme.

‘Loando, the capital of the Portuguese provinces of Angola, has a fine harbor, and looks well from the sea—but it may well be said

‘I have seen it objected,’ said Henry, ‘to the colony of Liberia, that it has not *suppressed* the slave-trade: but both that and the colony at Sierra Leone have certainly done something, if they have not yet accomplished every thing.’

‘It is unreasonable in the extreme,’ said Mr. L. ‘for any thus to object. To break up the slave-trade on that whole extended coast will require time, and the planting of other colonies, and the aid of Christian governments. It is certainly a matter of great gratulation that so much has been done.’

‘Are not our national vessels occasionally cruising upon the African coast? I am sure, I think I have seen frequent accounts of them there,’ said Henry.

‘They occasionally visit the colonies: but we have not rendered that aid and protection which we ought to have done. Especially does that coast demand our regard in consideration of the fact that the regular legal trade with Africa is carried on chiefly by American vessels. It is to be hoped that our Government will take this subject in hand, and that there will be some efficient action in unison with other powers, for the suppression of the trade. Then not only will the native African

that “distance lends enchantment to the view;” it is emphatically a whited sepulchre.” When the slave-trade was at the zenith. Loando was a place of great opulence, as evidenced in the numerous large and palace-like residences, the grand and magnificent churches, convents, and nunneries—the latter, with few exceptions, being in a state of ruin and decay. The Jesuits early turned their attention to Angola as a field for their operations, and their fortunes seemed to wax and wane with the slave-trade; while this prospered, they flourished, and the monuments of their zeal and energy are numerous and striking. But their zeal and energy have outstripped the decadence of the traffic—the fraternity is now unrepresented by a living man—their splendid temples are now the habitations only for the moles and the bats, or the workshops for convicts guilty of the foulest crimes.’

“drink at noon

The palm's rich nectar, and lie down at eve  
In the green pastures of remembered days,  
And walk, to wander and to weep no more  
On Congo's mountain-coast, and Gambia's golden shore ;”

but the prosperity of the colonies planted there will be greatly promoted, and rendered far more efficient than they can otherwise be.\* Besides, the reproach will be taken away from us which I had the mortification of reading this morning from a paragraph in one of the papers professedly devoted to the cause of the colored race, in these words:—  
“True, America has proscribed the foreign trade, on *parchment*; and that is all. For to this hour, she stands aloof,

\* The influence of Liberia is seen in the following from the Liberia Herald:

“THE SLAVE-TRADE NO GO ON THE LIBERIA COAST.—The Portuguese Felucca, which has been dodging about here for several weeks, and seen frequently off Gallinas, New Cestors and Trade Town, has abandoned her purpose of procuring slaves from this part of the African coast. She was boarded off Gallinas, soon after her arrival on the coast, by an officer of Her Majesty's brig ‘Wolverine.’ She, however, was not detained, the officer finding nothing on board which could be produced in evidence to condemn her as a slaver. It has been ascertained since, that while the ‘Wolverine’ was in chase of her, the fellows threw overboard her slave equipment, and thus escaped being seized. Finding Gallinas closely watched, she proceeded to Trade Town, where the supercargo landed, and, it is said, offered cash for a hundred slaves, payable in doubloons, on delivery to him at the beach, on a certain day. The authorities, in the mean time, had obtained information of the real character of the vessel, and of the landing of a person from her at Trade Town, and without delay dispatched the Government schooner ‘Lark’ to cruise off New Cestors and Trade Town to watch her movements, and to seize her upon the first attempt to contravene our laws. Captain Patten, of Her Majesty's brig ‘Hound,’ senior officer of the Sierra Leone Division, had also received intelligence that the Felucca was after slaves, and, in company with the ‘Heroine,’ was in search of her. These movements, and the constant presence of the ‘Lark’ off Trade Town, alarmed the captain, and he precipitately sailed for the south coast, leaving her supercargo on shore at Trade Town.”

and will not come into such arrangements with foreign powers, as are indispensable to an effectual execution of the law. A British cruiser gives chase to a slaver—up go American colors! America denies the right of search in the case, and off goes the slaver untouched and unharmed. Thus does America nullify her own law, and, so far as she can, the laws of all other civilized powers, and unfurl her flag for the escape and protection, rather than the arrest and punishment of the slaver?”



## Review of the Whole Subject.

"The great characteristics which have marked the progress of every nation, in every age, have eventually resulted in the accomplishment of some grand design in which the hand of Providence, though for a time obscured by shadows, has been at last clearly and distinctly seen."—*Com. Stockton.*

I shall now, before I close this humble attempt at a plea for Africa, take a brief review of the general subject of the preceding conversations.

Three millions of the African race are scattered through fifteen of the States of the American Union, in a condition of servitude. Others, in large numbers, probably not less than half a million, are dispersed through the country generally, and are nominally free.

The race was introduced here when we were colonists, subject to British law. They were forced upon us when they were at the lowest point of humanity, heathens and barbarians. Their civil, social and religious condition, before they were brought to our shores, was forlorn and wretched, almost beyond the possibility of aggravation.

They were here in a civilized and christian country. There being placed here had, although man meant it not, a redeeming influence upon them. Opportunities of enlightenment were enjoyed which they would not have had in Africa; and, without palliating the hardships of slavery, it may be truly said, they have been generally better off, safer and happier in consequence.\* They have been instruct-

\* The author does not mean to lose sight of the fact that the loss of personal liberty, however degraded an individual may previously have been, is a sore trial, for which nothing on earth seems to compensate. He acknowledges too, that the relation of master and slave

ed in the arts of civilized life; many of them have been taught the rudiments of a common education; some have enjoyed higher advantages; and upon thousands and tens of thousands of them Christianity has exerted a healing, saving power.

The existence of the institution of slavery among us, has proved the source of great inquietude, and accumulated and still accumulating evils. Many of the wisest and best men in the slave-holding States have from the earliest period of the introduction of slavery among us, regretted the existence of the institution, deplored the evils attending it, anticipated increasing troubles, and speculated with anxiety in regard to the future. Emancipations in considerable numbers occurring from year to year, seemed only to threaten an increase of trouble, long before any jealousies were excited between North and South. Still, emancipations of individuals and of families were, and still are, constantly taking place; and this, as well as the natural increase of free blacks, would seem, wholly irrespective of modern abolition, to be bringing us near the time when there must be a strife between the whites and the blacks, if they persist in remaining together.

Difficulties, besides those growing necessarily out of the relation and the existence together of two races, have arisen. Individuals and associations in the non-slave-holding States, not content to trust the South to attend to their own business, have long been in the habit of denouncing the holding of slaves as a sin, and among the very worst of crimes; the owners of slaves have been declared "man-stealers, robbers, pirates, murderers," and whilst immediate and unconditional

may be, and doubtless is, sometimes the occasion of injustice and cruelty beyond the mere deprivation of freedom. But this also is true of the relation of husband and wife, parent and child, master and apprentice, employer and employed in our free system of labor. The abuses of a system or relation, form no sound argument against the system or relation itself.

abolition has been demanded, the work of agitation has been carried forward; demagogues have mounted the whirlwind; and even the declaration that slavery furnishes a sufficient cause for the dissolution of the Union,\* has become with not a few a prominent article in their political creed! The citizens of the slave-holding States have, therefore, felt themselves aggrieved, have considered their rights in peril, and have demanded new guarantees of security against annoyance and the threatened calamities of civil war. They have, moreover, in their turn, in considerable numbers, threatened the secession of the Southern States.

The general Government has thus been agitated, compromise after compromise has proved only the means of postponing, rather than of settling the vexed question; until a climax seems to have been reached that, in the apprehension of the wisest men in both sections of our country, has been regarded as fearfully portentous of danger.

That a difference of opinion should exist in regard to the institution of slavery, is not strange; especially when we take into view the manner of its introduction among us, and all the circumstances of the case as it presents itself at the South; and more especially when it is considered that if slavery be a sin, the North were as deeply involved in the guilt as long as slave-labor was found to be profitable, as the South; were chiefly engaged in the slave-trade as long as it was tolerated; have pocketed the pecuniary fruits of the traffic;† and have never yet exhibited a preparedness

\* It is difficult to see how a dissolution of the Union is to be of any benefit to the slave, or to aid an object of philanthropy.

† I could wish, for the honor of my ancestry, as a New Englander, that the poor Indians had never subjects of the same cruel lust for gain. The multitudes of them that were sent to Madeira and other places and sold as slaves under the express sanction of Pilgrimage; the disappearance almost entirely of that noble race; and the fact that our philanthropy has never been greatly moved in sympathy for the Red-man; furnish a sad comment upon the denunciations now hurled against another portion of our common country.

to bear an equitable part in the expense of the removal of the evil. Differences of opinion will exist—*conscientious* differences too, constituted as mankind are, in relation to moral questions. Some believe the law of property which enables one man to hold what they insist is the common gift of the Creator to his children, is sin. Shall those who dissent from this opinion, or other opinions which are among the peculiarities of our age, be driven from the Union, or compelled by fire and sword to yield? For *ultraisms*, which are always the fruit of the abuse of reason in the first instance, and then of a proposed abuse of power, the plea of *conscience* is ever at hand—whether in the burning of heretics, the hanging of witches, or kindling the flame of civil war. So conscientious are some people, that a broken compact and oceans of blood are no crime, nor are consequences to be regarded at all, whether as respects their own kindred and friends, or the race for whom their sympathies are professedly awakened.

‘Let any man gaze long and absorbingly at some particular feature of a question, and his mind will be liable to err; the feature which absorbs his vision will preclude the possibility of a comprehensive view of the subject. Besides, it is, with many, always easier to condemn than to judge correctly; easier to get into a passion, and use abusive epithets, than to obtain a comprehension of the subject in discussion in its length and breadth; easier to be interested about the duties of others than to attend to our own; easier to agitate than practically and self-denyingly to act the part of the good Samaritan.’

‘If slavery is to be extinguished at once in the land, the burden of the purchase, that is, of the value surrendered, should in justice be borne by the whole country: are we ready to meet the duty and to pay the price? If we are, humanity obliges us to another question: Are the slaves, as a whole, prepared to be turned loose upon the community

without restraint?\* Have they the culture, the training, the experience necessary to self-independence? And further: what is to be their hope for the future? Are they to be a marked, degraded being, through all time; or are we prepared to place them on an equality with us, social and civil?"

The *present* condition of the free colored man in this country is truly *disheartening*. The *future* appears to be *hopeless*. No man flourishes in a state of conscious inferiority; he must feel his equality before he can feel that he is in all respects a man. There are some privileges, it is evident from all the past as well as from the present, that no mere title to freedom, and, we may add, no enactments, no law, can confer. Laws may give political, but they cannot give *social* position. A legislature may empower the emancipated to hold property and to vote. This has been done in some instances. But what shall remove the prejudice that exists on the part of the white population against association? Can law change physical characteristics, or induce fathers to give their daughters to the colored man in marriage, or reconcile daughters to receive them as husbands. Is amalgamation between the races to be expected? But all history teaches only one lesson on this point—which is,

\* It is asserted by those who certainly have no sympathy with slavery, that it would result in this; that tens of thousands of them would at once fill our prisons and poor-houses, whilst others would live by plunder; and we are referred to the daily reports of trials before our criminal courts in the free States: though the free people of color are few in number in comparison with the whites, a vast majority of the subjects, it is said, are people of color.

The slave is protected, restrained, and provided for by his master; the free black is left to shift for himself, and it is upon him that the agencies that are hostile to his elevation principally operate.

During the year 1850, the total immigration to the United States from all foreign countries can hardly have been less than 400,000 persons, persons of a class that at once enter into competition with the black man in all the avenues of labor, and, in most of them, drive him to the wall.

*that two races which cannot amalgamate by intermarriage, can exist in the same land only in the relation of master and slave, or, if both are nominally free, in that of the oppressor and the oppressed.*

The opinion is not here hazarded that in all political or civil privileges the colored man can be placed on an equality with the white man: for observation thus far forbids the hope—especially does the course of legislation in the non-slaveholding States: but suppose such obstacles may be overcome; how many generations first will have gone down to their graves!—and will the social disabilities come to an end?

*What* then shall the colored man do? Does not the nature of the evil suggest the remedy? If the two races cannot live together in the relations that constitute equality, will it not be well for them to separate? Is not the colonization of the free the only remedy? He need not always be a serf. *Educated* here amidst republican institutions, though deprived of a participation in the rights of government, he may take with him the seed which, planted in another soil, will grow into the living tree of liberty, under whose branches his children and his children's children may repose in security and happiness. Thus the land of his seeming desolation, becomes the nursery of new thoughts and new hopes, tending to his elevation as a moral and intellectual being.\*

\* "When, from any cause, a family or a nation cease to live in harmony, a separation, or colonization, if you please, is, and ever has been, the remedy. All colonizations, too, have been alike, with some differences in the impelling motive; leaving out of view the penal colonies of different countries, and some pauper emigrants from Europe to the United States, the colonists have left their old homes to better their condition; and of this character must be the colonization of the free colored people of the United States. They must go for their own good. As a class, they are better able to do so than the Irish and German emigrants who come in ship-loads to America. They have, when destitute, generally more friends to help them than these have."—*Latrobe*.



But *where* shall he go? To be *truly* free and happy, he must, for ought that now appears, look to the land which God has given him. Who, in looking at Liberia, can fail to foresee the destiny of the colored man, or to recognize the hand of Providence? From the birth of that new Republic the colored man may date his progress.\*

‘What would these United States have been at this moment without colonization? It has done much for the white man! They might have remained in Europe. See the changes too which in the lapse of a single generation are

\* The advantages of Liberia over Canada and the West Indies, were sufficiently hinted in the extracts of Mr. Birney’s letter, given in a previous chapter. We add the following, however, from the *Evening Post*, London, which says;—Wm. Wells Brown, formerly a slave in the United States, addresses a very sensible letter to the *London Times* on the condition of the fugitive slaves in England. He says, very many of those who have been compelled to fly into Canada from persecutions, resulting from the late fugitive law, are without employment; and as these people, he says, are mostly without education, and have but little knowledge of the mechanical branches, they find many difficulties in the way of getting employment, and thereby earning for themselves an honest living.

“Many of these people have, within the last six or eight months, gone to England to seek employment, and encounter the same difficulties there as in Canada, and consequently soon become a burden to the benevolent, or inmates of the ‘Unions.’ He therefore recommends that provision be made for sending such of them as are willing to go, to the West Indies, to labor in those islands where slavery has been abolished, and where a deficiency of labor is now experienced.”

In reference to the proposition to send them to the West Indies, one of the editors of the *Post*, having himself personal knowledge of the capabilities of the islands, remarks:—

“Wages, in all the British West Indies, are now at the starving point, and it would be madness for colored folks to go there in quest of labor. If, however, they have, or can procure a little capital, say from one to five hundred dollars, which they can afford to invest in the soil, then we should unhesitatingly advise them to seek a home in one of those islands, where the best of land can be bought at from five to ten dollars an acre, and where five acres will support a small family comfortably.”

wrought in the condition of the families of the emigrating Germans and Irish! The colored man may remain *here*—but generally it will be, at best, in the capacity of the shoe-black, the cook, or the barber, or as some menial.\* He will not enjoy the full privileges of a *man*.

More than this, our duty to the colored man is not confined to the American continent only. As I have before said, we owe to Africa a debt. To use the language of Com. Stockton, in a recently published letter, “The hand of Providence seems to be clearly pointing out an ultimate

\* One of the citizens of Monrovia, in Liberia, Edward Blyden, in a recent letter dated December 9, 1851, to Rev. Mr. Pinney, takes this enlightened view of the subject:—

‘Abolitionism is limited in its operations. Its object is only to deliver the colored man from a state of physical bondage, and leave him in social and political oppression; or, as some one has said, they point the colored man to the highest honors of the nation, and shut him out from them; they tell him of privileges, and unite in debarring him from them.

‘Colonization is extensive in its operations: it releases the man from slavery, tells him of a land where he can enjoy uninterrupted freedom, and assists him in getting to it. It contributes to the introduction of civilization in Africa; and it assists in repressing the slave-trade. Noble, generous cause! Should not colored men of every grade appreciate it? I am persuaded that the day is not very distant, when the colored people of the United States will flock to these shores, as the Irish and Dutch are now flocking to America.

‘From what I see, I gather the impression that Colonization is gaining favor in various parts of the world. Where are those famous Abolitionists? Do they perceive the superiority of the system of Colonization above theirs, which only causes agitation, and does more real injury to the class of persons in whose welfare they profess to be interested than good? Are they ashamed to acknowledge the superiority of the colonization scheme? Let them look at Liberia, a nation living in the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of *men*,—the result of thirty years’ labor of the American Colonization Society. Can the Anti-slavery societies point us to any real good that has accrued to the colored race through their exertions!—If not, why not come forward and acknowledge the inefficiency of their scheme, and adopt more judicious measures for the promotion

design in all this arrangement of things. Yonder is Africa, with her millions of miserable, degraded, ignorant, lawless, superstitious idolaters. Whoever has stood upon her sands, has stood upon a continent that has geographical and physical peculiarities which belong to no other of the great divisions of the globe. The latter appear upon the face of them, to have been adapted to draw out the energies of the natives in their inequalities of temperature, soil, and surface, inviting the ingenuity and enterprise of man to overcome them, and in the varieties of their products tempting the interchange of commerce; thus affording ample encouragement to the progress of civil and social improvement. But Africa is still as of old, a land of silence and of mystery.—Like the interminable dreariness of her own deserts, her moral wastes of mind lie waiting for the approach of influences from abroad. No savage people have ever advanced to a civilized state without intercommunication with others. All the continents of the world have, in their turn, been occupied and civilized by means of colonies; but in no one of them did it appear so inevitably necessary, from a previous examination of circumstances, as in that of Africa. It is plain to the very eye, that Africa is a land to which civilization *must be brought*. The attempt has been made over and over again by devoted missionaries and others to penetrate that land, and seek to impart the blessings of civilization and Christianity to her savage hordes. But the labor has been spent in vain. The white man cannot live in Africa. The annals of the Moravians, of Cape Colony, of Sierra Leone, of Liberia, contain the records of the sacrifice

of their purpose? Colonizationists have done permanent good, in that they have not only released the colored man from bondage, but have given him a home far from the land of his oppression. They have also provided a home for every one who wishes to flee from the house of bondage. Can any Abolitionist look at Liberia, her present position among the nations of the earth, her wise and judicious government, her enterprising citizens, and not testify to the efficiency of the Colonization scheme?

of some of the best men that have lived to grace the pages of any people's history, in the vain attempt to accomplish something for her redemption through the instrumentality of white men. *Who, then, is to do this work?*

"Let, now, any calm, reflecting spectator of the present state of the world be asked to look at Africa, and then, from among the nations point out the people best calculated to do this work—and when his eye falls upon the descendants of the sons of that continent now in America, will he not say, *These are the people appointed for that work?*

"The ways of God are mysterious. So Joseph was sold a slave into Egypt; so his father and brethren were driven thither by providential circumstances; so their generations remained as slaves in Egypt for four centuries and a half; and when the appointed time had come, in His own appointed way, the Ruler of nations led them to the accomplishment of His great purposes."

Not merely the germs of colonies are already there, encouraging a prosecution of the good work, and giving earnest of success, but the Republic of Liberia is there! The door is open. The experiment has been made. The success is great, without a parallel.

Well did the Barbadoes African Colonization Society, in a recent address to the Select Committee of the British House of Commons, express their conviction that "it appears to have been the design of the Almighty Governor of the Universe, in permitting the great wrong, (of carrying away their forefathers from Africa,) that their descendants, reared in the circle of civilization, and acquiring a practical knowledge of its usages and arts, and of the truths of the Gospel, might, in due time, be efficient instruments in the regeneration of their fatherland."

Says that enlightened friend of humanity, the Rev. R. R. Gurley, who recently went out to Africa by appointment of the Government of the United States, to obtain information in respect to Liberia, "Engaged in a work of unsur-

passed dignity and importance, the inhabitants of this small Republic are accomplishing more good, as I must believe, than any equal number of human beings, in private stations, on the face of the globe."

Still, in too many instances, the free descendants of Africa among us, cling to this country under all their disabilities, regardless of the claims of the land of their fathers upon them. This, perhaps is not strange in view of the unwearied pains, worthy of a better cause, that have been made to prejudice them against the colonization movement, and to create wrong impressions of duty.\*

Many, however, are of a better mind. Nay thousands are now looking towards Liberia with earnest desires to depart, and to be co-workers with their brethren already there, in the great work in which they have been so signally prospered.†

\* "The colonies we have settled in Africa would, ere this day, had become a Republic of power, had the free negroes of the North been willing to become citizens of it. But, like the Israelites of old, who would, but for the Divine interposition, have sacrificed their liberators in the wilderness, and returned to Egypt; these liberated descendants of Africa cannot be persuaded to look toward the land of their fathers. The millions of their colored bondmen *there* awaken no sympathy in their hearts. Their fixed and resolute purpose appears to be to remain among the whites, and force themselves by progressive steps into a civil and social equality with them; and it is chiefly with a view to strengthen themselves in these particular views and aspirations, that they band together under the abolition flag, and fill our cities with threats of vengeance against the white race, if they shall dare to execute the laws in relation to fugitive slaves."—*Com. Stockton.*

† The following letter, copied from the Journal of Commerce, exhibits a spirit of manly independence which, in spite of proscription and denunciation, is being daily discovered among the free people of color, and we have no doubt that the number of such instances will constantly increase:

TO THE EDITOR, SIR:—In your report of the proceedings of a meeting that was called for last Monday evening, you have given Jones credit for saying what Mr. Putnam said, and Mr. Sayles for

To assist in the removal of all of the free descendants of Africa who wish to go to the theatre of their future glory and usefulness, the American Colonization Society and its kindred auxiliaries, believe is a work both of humanity and

what I, Jones, said. Now I desire distinctly to place myself in proper position, wishing all parties to shoulder their own luggage. I am decidedly in favor of African colonization, without mincing the matter; not because I believe the projectors are saints, but because I believe it is the only practical scheme on foot; not because I believe we have no right here, for I believe the earth is the common property of mankind; not because I think there is nowhere else we could comfortably live, (and the present generation much better,) but it is because I believe it is a duty. The line of duty is alike to all mankind; and we have no right to shrink from ours. Africa must be civilized, and it is our duty to do it. Africa must be respected, and it is our duty to make her so. The lion and the lamb must lie down together, and we must make their bed. All mankind must be free, and we must strike at the cause of slavery: remove the cause, and the wound will heal itself. It is madness to perish two hundred native free born per annum, for the sake of running off from their claimants one hundred per year. The wear and tear of mind is killing us off by inches, while we are struggling for a chimera,—a something that no set of men will ever possess, by begging. But, sir, Africa is destined to be the mistress of the world, and we are to make the beginning; and let posterity finish the job.

“These being my calm views, I shall labor to that end, let opposition come from what source it may. My grandfather struggled for six years in South Carolina, during the Revolution, and it was a desperate stake. Their party won, but his son and son’s sons have been cheated; so I must look elsewhere for the prize. I can’t subscribe to the Divine right of kings to rule, or any other particular set. Slavery is slavery, clothe it as you will. Man’s the master of the animal kingdom, and I want my share of the responsibility. Charity compels me to believe all men honest in their opinions, without reference to antagonism,—and believing a diversity of opinions is natural and necessary, I have no disposition to find fault with others, while I desire a free exercise of my own.

“Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“ELIAS G. JONES, Hair Dresser,

“No. 314 Greenwich street.”



patriotism. This is its leading motive; this its one object. We thus help the colored man in his desires for self-elevation, and in his beneficent influence on benighted Africa. The cause is one that may justly challenge universal favor, and promises great and most beneficent results.\*

Here is enough for all to do; enough to satisfy the largest benevolence, the most ardent philanthropy—in acts, in personal sacrifices, in contributions to the cause of humanity; and all without the violence of personal or legal rights—“doing *good*, and not evil—that *good* may come.”

\* “The idea that out of the institution of domestic slavery in this country is to spring the regeneration of Africa, derives, it seems to me, great force from the recurrence to past history.

“We invariably find that in the dispensation of Providence, nations which have been called to act an important part in the work of human progress, have been led through a long previous discipline of trial; the restraints and endurance of youth have preceded the power and efficiency of manhood. Primary subjection is the law of stable growth, and seems an indispensable condition of the advancement of our race.

“We have only to look back through a few centuries to find the evidences of this in the annals of our race. Our ancestors were for centuries a down-trodden, enslaved and toiling people. The Anglo-Saxon race have become what they are, by a long training in the school of patient endurance; in the case of England, under oppressive servitude to the Roman and the Norman; in the case of America, under the oppression of our mother-country and the trying discipline of Colonial suffering. In the life of a nation, hundreds of years may be as a day in the life of an individual. It is often necessary for many generations to pass, before a new influence can be made to affect the mass. If all are willing, the work of national preparation might be more rapid; but thousands are to be made willing—and by the Providential adaptation of the means to the end.

“Let us not be impatient or presumptuous. These African people are passing to their destiny along the same path which has been trod by other nations, through a mixture of hardship, of endurance, but in a land of light, and amid a civilized society. They are preparing to accomplish a work for their native continent which no other people in the world can accomplish. Their plain mission is, ultimately to carry the gifts of society, of religion, of government,

Planted in feebleness, Liberia rises in glory. A great work has been achieved, for which let the praise be given to God who has crowned the labors of the friends of humanity with such wonderful success. Much remains to be done to carry forward the good work, perfecting that which is so auspiciously begun. May Africa never lack for friends; may the friends of Africa have wisdom and zeal proportionate to the magnitude and glory of the work to be accomplished, and may the blessing of God, without which nothing should be sought, be with them.

to the last remaining continent of the earth—where these blessings are totally unknown. Their work is a great one, as it would seem to be connected essentially with the final and universal triumph of civilization and Christianity, in the world. It is our duty to follow, not to attempt to lead in the ways and purposes of Providence. We are to move forward when the pillar of fire and cloud moves forward; and to rest when it rests.—*Com. Stockton.*

## CONCLUSION.

IN the progress of the foregoing Conversations, particular reference has been made to several of the early and distinguished friends of African Colonization: the author is sensible that in an attempt to do justice to some, he may by omission seem to do injustice to others. He cannot, however, refrain from a passing tribute, before these sheets pass from the press, as an acknowledgment of the valuable services of a few among the noble friends of Africa, whose work is done on earth, but who have left a memorial behind them, and "shall be in everlasting remembrance." And first may be mentioned, with propriety, more particularly than before,

The Rev. ROBERT FINLEY. To him, at that time resident at Basking Ridge, New Jersey, is conceded by all, a great share in the honor of originating the American Colonization Society. For years this eminent Christian had viewed the condition of the free colored population of our country with sympathising interest, and "the whole vigor of his intellect was aroused to form plans for their relief." Among "the exiled children of Africa this good man saw not merely the heirs to a temporal, but to an eternal existence; not those possessing merely the virtues of natural and social afflection, but also capacities for the high improvements and joys of an immortal state." Early in the year 1815 he expressed himself to a friend as follows: "The longer I live to see the wretchedness of men, the more I admire the virtue of those who devise, and with patience labor to execute plans for the relief of the wretched. On this subject, the state of the *free blacks*, has very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretch-

edness, as appears to me. Every thing connected with their condition, including their color, is against them ; nor is there much prospect that their state can ever be greatly meliorated while they shall continue among us. Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a colony on some part of the coast of Africa, similar to the one at Sierre Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle, devising for them the means of getting there, and of protection and support till they are established? Think much upon this subject, and then please to write me when you have leisure."

Mr. Finley was satisfied of the practicability and utility of the project, and encouraged by the opinions of others, "resolved to make a great effort to carry his benevolent views into effect. In making preparatory arrangements, he spent a considerable part of the fall of 1816," and, "determined to test the popularity, and in some measure the practicability of the whole system," he at length introduced the subject to public notice in the city of Washington. For this purpose he visited several members of Congress, the President, the heads of Department, and others. His conversation and zeal is said to have done much in arresting attention to the subject, and conciliating many who at first appeared opposed. He proposed a special season of prayer in reference to the object, and several pious persons met him for the purpose of spending an hour in such an exercise. When told that some were incredulous, and that some ridiculed the plan proposed, he replied, "*I know this scheme is from God.*"

Having disinterestedly and perseveringly prosecuted the great object of his desire, and performed a conspicuous part in the organization of the Society, he was soon called from his Christian labors on earth to his reward in heaven. His work was done ; and upon the foundation which he laid, others were called by the providence of God to build.

JAMES MADISON, the profound statesman, the accom-

plished scholar, the humble Christian, who filled with so much honor the highest position in the gift of his country, was the early friend of the Society, its President at the time of his death, and besides approving its plans and lending to it the influence of his name, contributed largely to its funds, and remembered it also in his last will and testament, leaving to assist in its operations when he should be no more, a valuable legacy.

A JEFFERSON, MONROE and CARROLL, may also be mentioned as among the zealous advocates of colonization, the last of whom was elected President of the Society upon the demise of Judge Washington.

The Hon. BUSHRD WASHINGTON, the talents and virtues of whom are well known to have been of high character; and who having practised with reputation and success in the profession of which he was so bright an ornament, was appointed by the first President Adams, in 1797, as Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States—the highest judicial tribunal of our country, was the Society's early friend. Of this Society, he became the President at its origin, and ever felt much interest in its success. He gave much of his time and thoughts to the advancement of its designs, and was liberal in his donations. His views of the Society and its operations are exhibited in an impressive manner, in an address which he delivered at the first annual meeting of the Society. The following is an extract: "In the magnificent plans now carrying on for the improvement and happiness of mankind, in many parts of the world, we cannot but discern the interposition of that Almighty power who alone could inspire and crown with success these great purposes. But amongst them all, there is perhaps none upon which we may more confidently implore the blessing of heaven, than that in which we are now associated. Whether we consider the grandeur of the object and the wide sphere of philanthropy which it embraces; or whether we view the present state of its progress under the

auspices of this Society, and under the obstacles which might have been expected from the cupidity of many, we may discover in each a certain pledge that the same benignant hand which has made these preparatory arrangements, will crown our efforts with success. Having, therefore, these motives of piety to consecrate and strengthen the powerful considerations which a wise policy suggests, we may, I trust, confidently rely upon the liberal exertions of the public for the necessary means of effecting this highly interesting object." Nor was he at all discouraged by the obstacles which it was necessary to encounter in the further prosecution of this good enterprise, or by the prospect of the greatness of the work which he saw was to be done. In a subsequent address, he says, "If much yet remains to be done, we may nevertheless look back with satisfaction upon the work which has been accomplished; and may, I trust, without presumption, indulge the hope that the time is not far distant, when, by means of those for whose happiness we are laboring, Africa will participate in the inestimable blessings which result from civilization, a knowledge of the arts, and, above all, of the pure doctrines of the Christian religion."

Chief Justice MARSHALL also was a distinguished friend of colonization. The Colonization Herald has said, on noticing his death, "It is not of the statesman or the judge that we would speak. Our humble tribute is paid to the early and steadfast friend of African Colonization, the oldest Vice-president of the American Colonization Society. Surrounded from his birth by a slave population, he knew its evils, and as a patriot, a philanthropist, and a Christian, was desirous of doing all in his power to promote the welfare of his country, and render justice to the oppressed. His clear mind saw the difficulties of the subject, and the necessity of removing by degrees an evil which had grown too mighty to be forcibly overthrown without spreading devastation through the land. He saw that the sudden emancipation of the slaves of the Southern States was



morally impracticable, not only by reason of the municipal law which forbade it, but the still stronger law of nature, which declared it cruel and unjust to cast them forth unprotected and unprepared for their new condition. In the plan of colonization he saw the means of opening a door by which the oppressed may go free, with the prospect of attaining comfort and happiness, and vindicating their equal participation in the dignity of manhood. He was therefore among the earliest promoters of the American Colonization Society, and to his latest breath continued its steadfast friend. He generally attended the annual meetings of the society; and as the oldest Vice-President, frequently presided. He always manifested a lively interest in its welfare. One of the latest acts of his life was to contribute largely toward fitting out an expedition with colonists from Norfolk; and even in his last illness he showed unabated zeal in the cause.

In this connexion it is highly proper to mention also the Rt. Rev. WILLIAM WHITE, D. D.

——— "*nomen clarum et venerabile*!"

Who, for many years, as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Colonization Society, and in various ways, contributed much to the advancement of the cause and the best interest of an oppressed race. It was not many months before his death, that the lamented bishop, having braved, at the age of four score and eight, the inclemency of a stormy, snowy night, was seen presiding at the anniversary of the Pennsylvania branch of the Colonization Society.

ROBERT RALSTON, of Philadelphia, was another Vice-President of the Parent Society, and distinguished friend of Africa, whose name was greatly respected, and who closed his earthly pilgrimage, honored and lamented, in the ripeness of a good old age.

Another early friend of colonization was ELIAS BORDI,

NOT CALDWELL, Esq. first Secretary of the Society, present at its organization, and justly classed with Finley, Mills, and Gen. Mercer, as one of the most efficient projectors and promoters of the institution. His Christian principles and works are his best eulogium. The African Repository contains this notice of his death and tribute to his memory ; “ Having taken a very distinguished part in the formation of the Society, having carefully investigated its claims, and prepared himself for the obstacles which he saw to be inevitable in its progress, and especially having committed the cause to God, he was not disconcerted by misfortunes, nor discouraged by the calamities of its earliest history. He recollected that the events connected with the infancy of almost all colonies are analogous to those which have occurred in our own, and that they prove rather that experience is requisite to success, than that success is impossible. To no individual in the country was the colony more indebted for aid and success during the months of its greatest peril and distress ; and while his strength enabled him to act, none was more earnest in exertions for its prosperity. Often indeed did his zeal for others render him forgetful of himself, and his feeble frame felt the debilitating effects of excessive mental exertion. Near the conclusion of his life, the ordinary affairs of the world appeared to lose their power to affect him, and his faith fixed itself upon the things which are unseen and eternal. Perfection with God was the object of his supreme desire and highest hope. His anticipations of immortality, however, could not diminish his affection for the cause of humanity and of God on earth. A few days before his death he addressed to a friend this note, ‘THE LORD HATH GIVEN ME THE DESIRE OF MY HEART RESPECTING AFRICA.—FAREWELL.’ Blessed is his memory, and great his reward.”

To perpetuate in Africa the name of this benefactor of Liberia, the name of CALDWELL was given to the first settlement established by the colony.

WILLIAM HENRY FITZHUGH was a warm and early friend of the Liberia colony, and for successive years one of the Vice-Presidents of the American Colonization Society, the value and importance of which institution he ably set forth in a series of essays under the signature of *Opimus*. Descended from two of the ancient and respectable families of Virginia, and by education, talents, fortune, character, peculiarly fitted for eminent usefulness, his death was lamented as a public loss. At the time of his death Mr. Fitzhugh was employed in plans for bettering the moral condition of his slaves, with the hope of preparing them for a different sphere of action. His designs towards them are sufficiently indicated by his will, enjoining their freedom under proper conditions. One who was intimately acquainted with him said "Mr. Fitzhugh was no ordinary man.—His highly gifted and well-balanced mind, improved and polished by education, self-discipline, and constant intercourse with cultivated and refined society, controlled in its operations by sentiments just, honorable, magnanimous, rendered him a model of the virtues most admired in private and in public life. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, who have shared in the hospitalities of Ravensworth will bear testimony to the nobleness of his disposition, the urbanity of his manners, and to those attractive powers of conversation which drew around him, as by magic, a numerous circle of friends, who found that to know was to love him; and that every successive interview increased the strength of their attachment. As a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, of the Senate, and of the Convention, he filled the high expectation of his friends, and stood acknowledged by all, an able, honorable, and eloquent statesman. While the reputation of Virginia was dear to his heart, while he cherished towards her character and her interest, even a filial affection, he looked abroad upon the Union with patriotic pride, and rejoiced in the honors and prospects of this glorious national republic. Nor were his desires for the

improvement of mankind confined within the limits of his country. He was a philanthropist; and felt that human beings, whatever may be their country, circumstances, or complexion, were related to him by the ties of a common nature, and must not be excluded from his regards. His example survives him. And while friendship and affection shed their tears upon his grave; while honor, genius, patriotism, and philanthropy gather around it in silent grief, may his example, like an oracle from the abodes of the departed, give confidence and energy to virtue, and perpetuate its influence to relieve the miseries, and to improve and exalt the character of mankind."

We must notice another who greatly served the interests of colonization, THOMAS SMITH GRIMKE. By the death of this distinguished Christian, scholar and civilian, in 1834, the Colonization Society was deprived of one of its Vice-Presidents and most efficient members, and the cause of Africa of a liberal and devoted friend. It has been well said of Mr. Grimke that he was no ordinary man, either in his intellectual or moral endowments. In the legal profession pre-eminent, a statesman of enlarged views and purity of motive, his patriotism a part of his piety, always aiming at the approbation of heaven, he was qualified for distinguished usefulness. His memory is blessed—his example lives.

Nor should we pass by unnoticed, the names of others, besides the sainted ASHMUN and MILLS, who left their native land, aspiring to serve this good cause more effectually in Africa. We may mention, first, the Rev. LOTT CAREY. Among the names of those who have devoted themselves to the great work of founding a colony in Liberia, and who shared the cares and toils and privations consequent upon the first attempt, stands conspicuous that of Mr. Carey, for some time the Vice-agent of the colony. Mr. Carey, as appears by an obituary of him in the Repository, from which this tribute is chiefly quoted, was born a slave, near

Richmond, Virginia. He was early hired out as a common laborer in that city, where, for some years, he remained, entirely regardless of religion, and much addicted to profane and vicious habits. Convinced of the misery of a sinful state, and brought to true repentance, he professed faith in the Saviour, and became a member of the Baptist Church. His father was a pious man, and much respected member of the same church, and his mother died giving evidence that she had relied for salvation upon the Son of God. He was their only child, and though he had no early instruction from books, the admonitions and prayers of his illiterate parents, it is supposed, laid the foundation of his further usefulness. "A strong desire to be able to read was excited in his mind by a sermon to which he attended soon after his conversion, and which related to our Lord's interview with Nicodemus; and having obtained a Testament, he commenced reading his letters, by trying to read the chapter in which this interview is recorded. Such was his diligence and perseverance that he overcame all obstacles, and acquired not only the art of reading, but of writing also. Shortly after the death of his first wife in 1813, he ransomed himself and two children for \$850, a sum which he had obtained by his singular ability and fidelity in managing the concerns of a tobacco warehouse. Of the real value of his services there, it has been remarked, no one but the dealer in tobacco can form an idea. Notwithstanding the hundreds of hogsheads that were committed to his charge, he could produce any one the instant it was called for; and the shipments were made with promptness and correctness, such as no person, white or black, has equalled in the same situation. It is said that while employed at the warehouse, he often devoted his leisure time to reading, and that a gentleman on one occasion taking up a book which he had left for a few moments, found it to be 'Smith's Wealth of Nations.' As early as the year 1815 he began to feel a special interest in the cause of African Missions, and contributed pro-

bably more than any other person in giving origin and character to the African Missionary Society established during that year in Richmond, and which, for many years collected and appropriated annually to the cause of Christianity in Africa, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars. His benevolence was practical; and whenever and wherever good objects were to be effected, he was ready to lend his aid. He became a preacher several years before he left this country, and generally engaged in this service every Sunday among the colored people on plantations a few miles from Richmond. A correspondent, from whom we have already quoted, observes, 'In preaching, notwithstanding his grammatical inaccuracies, he was often truly eloquent. He had derived almost nothing from the schools, and his manner was, of course unpolished, but his ideas would sometimes burst upon you in their native solemnity, and awaken deeper feelings than the most polished but less original and inartificial discourse.' A distinguished minister of the Presbyterian church said to the writer, 'A sermon which I heard from Mr. Carey, shortly before he sailed for Africa, was the best extemporaneous sermon I ever heard. It contained more original and impressive thoughts, some of which are distinct in my memory, and never can be forgotten.'

"Mr. Carey was among the earliest emigrants to Africa. For some time before his departure he had sustained the office of pastor of a Baptist church of colored persons in Richmond, embracing nearly eight hundred members, received from it a liberal support, and enjoyed its confidence and affection. When an intelligent minister of the same church inquired why he could determine to quit a station of so much comfort and usefulness, to encounter the dangers of an African climate, and hazard every thing to plant a colony on a distant heathen shore? his reply was to this effect, 'I am an African, and in this country, however meritorious my conduct and respectable my character, I cannot receive the credit due to either. I wish to go to a country



where I shall be estimated by my merits, not by my complexion; and I feel bound to labor for my suffering race.' He seemed to have imbibed the sentiment of Paul, and to have great heaviness and continual sorrow in his heart for his brethren, his kinsmen according to the flesh. At the close of his farewell sermon in Richmond, he remarked in substance as follows:—"I am about to leave you, and expect to see your faces no more. I long to preach to the poor Africans the way of life and salvation. I don't know what may befall me, whether I may find a grave in the ocean or among the savage men, or more savage wild beasts on the coast of Africa; nor am I anxious what may become of me. I feel it my duty to go; and I very much fear that many of those who preach the gospel in this country will blush when the Saviour calls them to give an account of their labors in his cause, and tells them, 'I commanded you to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature;' (and with the most forcible emphasis he exclaimed) the Saviour may ask, Where have you been? what have you been doing? Have you endeavored to the utmost of your ability to fulfil the commands I gave you, or have you sought your own gratification and your own ease regardless of my commands?"

"On his arrival in Africa he saw before him a wide and interesting field, demanding various and energetic talents, and the most devoted piety. His intellectual ability, firmness of purpose, unbending integrity, correct judgment, and disinterested benevolence, soon placed him in a conspicuous station, and gave him wide and commanding influence. Though naturally diffident and retiring, his worth was too evident to allow of his continuing in obscurity. It is well known that great difficulties were encountered in founding a settlement at Cape Montserado. So appalling were the circumstances of the first settlers, that soon after they had taken possession of the cape it was proposed that they should remove to Sierra Leone. The resolution of Mr. Carey was

not to be shaken; he determined to stay, and his decision had great effect in persuading others to imitate his example. During the war with the native tribes, in November and December, 1822, he proved to be one of the bravest of men, and lent his well directed and vigorous support to the measures of Mr. Ashmun during that memorable defence of the colony. It was to him that Mr. Ashmun was principally indebted for assistance in rallying the broken forces of the colony at a moment when fifteen hundred of the exasperated natives were rushing on to exterminate the settlement. In one of his letters he compares the little exposed company on Cape Montserado at that time, to the Jews, who, in rebuilding their city, 'grasped a weapon in one hand, while they labored with the other,' but adds emphatically, 'there never has been an hour or a minute, no, not even when the balls were flying around my head, when I could wish myself again in America.' At this early period of the colony the emigrants were peculiarly exposed; the want of adequate medical attentions, and the scantiness of their supplies, subjected them to severe and complicated sufferings. To relieve, if possible, these sufferings, Mr. Carey availed himself of all information in his power, concerning the diseases of the climate, made liberal sacrifices of his property to assist the poor and distressed, and devoted his time almost exclusively to the destitute, the sick, and the afflicted. He appeared to realize the greatness of the work in which he had engaged, and to be animated by a noble spirit of zeal and resolution in the cause of his afflicted and perishing brethren. His services as physician were invaluable, and were for a long time rendered without hope of reward.

"He was elected in September, 1826, to the Vice-agency of the colony, and discharged the duties of that important office until his death. In his good sense, moral worth, public spirit, courage, resolution, and decision, the colonial agent had perfect confidence. He knew that in times of difficulty or danger, reliance might be placed upon the

energy and efficiency of Mr. Carey. When compelled in the early part of 1828 to leave the colony, Mr. Ashmun committed the administration of the colonial affairs into his hands. But amid his multiplied cares and efforts for the colony he never forgot or neglected to promote the objects of the African Missionary Society, for which he had long cherished the strongest attachment. His great object in emigrating to Africa was to extend the power and blessings of the Christian religion. Before his departure from Richmond, a little church of about half a dozen members was formed by himself and those who were to accompany him. He became the pastor of this church in Africa, and saw its numbers greatly increased. Most earnestly did he seek access to the native tribes, and endeavor to instruct them in the doctrines and duties of that religion which in his own case had proved so powerful to purify, exalt and save. In one or two instances of hopeful conversion from heathenism, he greatly rejoiced; and many of his latest and most anxious thoughts were directed to the establishment of native schools in the interior. One such school, distant seventy miles from Monrovia, and of great promise, was established through his agency about a year before his death, and patronized and superintended by him until that mournful event. On this subject, by his many valuable communications to the Missionary Board, 'he being dead yet speaketh' in language which must affect the heart of every true Christian disciple.

"For six months after the first departure of Mr. Ashmun from the colony, Mr. Carey stood at its head, and conducted himself with such energy and wisdom as to do honor to his previous reputation, and fix the seal upon his enviable fame. On his death-bed, Mr. Ashmun urged that Mr. Carey should be permanently appointed to conduct the affairs of the colony, expressing his perfect confidence in his integrity and ability for that great work. The tidings of Mr. Ashmun's death had not reached the colony until

after the decease of Mr. Carey. How unexpected, how interesting, how affecting the meeting of these two individuals (so long united in Christian fellowship, in benevolent and arduous labors) in the world of glory and immortality!

“It has been well said of Mr. Carey, that ‘he was one of nature’s noblemen;’ and had he possessed the advantages of education, few men of his age would have excelled him in knowledge or genius. The features and complexion of Mr. Carey were altogether African. He was diffident, and showed no disposition to push himself into notice. His words were few, simple, direct and appropriate. His conversation indicated rapidity and clearness of thought, and an ability to comprehend the great and variously-related principles of religion and government. To found a Christian colony which might prove a blessed asylum to his degraded brethren in America and enlighten and regenerate Africa, was, in his view, an object with which no temporal good, not even life, could be compared. The strongest sympathies of his nature were excited in behalf of his unfortunate people, and the divine promise cheered and encouraged him in his labors for their improvement and salvation. A main pillar in Liberia, the memorial of his worth shall never perish. It shall stand in clearer light when every chain is broken, and Christianity shall have assumed her sway over the millions of Africa.”

The following lines “to the memory” of Mr. Carey, appeared in the African Repository soon after his death:—

“Shall none record the honor’d name  
Of Afric’s favor’d son,  
Or twine the deathless wreath of fame  
For him whose race is run?  
While angels crown the saint above,  
Has earth no voice to own her love?

Where’er the Patriot rests his head  
A stately pile appears;

While warriors sleep on glory's bed,  
Beneath a nation's tears ;  
And shall no tribute rise to thee,  
Thou fearless friend of liberty ?

Yes. Afric's sunny skies have glean'd  
On many a scene sublime ;  
But more than hope has ever dream'd  
Is destin'd for that clime.  
The chain shall burst, the slave be free,  
And millions bless thy memory.

Thy meed shall be a nation's love !  
Thy praise, the freeman's song !  
And in thy star-wreath'd home above  
Thou may'st the theme prolong ;  
For hymns of praise from Afric's plains  
Shall mingle with seraphic strains."

Dr. RICHARD RANDALL, who generously proffered his services in the cause of colonization and of Africa, and to whom was entrusted the station made vacant by the decease of the lamented Ashmun, was born at Annapolis, Md. ; received his education at St. John's College, and took his degree as a Doctor of Medicine in Philadelphia. From a sphere of usefulness in his profession in Washington City, he was called to the Professorship of Chemistry in Columbia College. He was also an able and efficient member of the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society. But his expansive benevolence, and the warm interest which he took in the welfare of the Liberia colony, would not allow of his enjoying longer the flattering prospects which were before him in America. An intimate friend of Dr. Randall has said, " The magnitude of the object of the Colonization Society, the attained success, the illimitable prospects for usefulness which the scheme displayed, soon engaged the feelings of his generous and benevolent mind. He was a generous, kind, noble-hearted man." He once thought unfavorably of the Society, the colony, and its objects ; but " his mind was enlightened," and he resolved to devote his

best energies to the glorious cause. As a member of the Board of Managers, he was discriminating, judicious, resolute, and benevolent; and became so intimately acquainted with all that related to the object of the cause, that great respect was due to his decisions. When Aslmun died, Dr. Randall was deeply affected, fully sensible of the shock which the institution had sustained. "The workings of his generous mind" could not long be concealed. He hesitated; but "his hesitation was the result of a diffidence of his own powers. Admonished of his danger, and implored by his friends to remain in the flattering career which he had commenced," his reply was decided, that "in doing his duty he disregarded his life—that with his feelings and purpose, he could readily exchange the endearing intercourse of relations, the alluring pleasures of refined society, the promised success of professional exertion, for the humble duty of promoting the happiness of the poor negroes in Africa, and be HAPPY IN SO DOING."

DR. JOHN WALLACE ANDERSON, of Maryland, graduate of the University of Pennsylvania in 1823, after being settled as a practising physician, resolved that it was his duty to devote himself to the cause of African colonization, by serving, in his professional character, among the colonists of Liberia. He accordingly left behind him the attractions of a delightful home, and with that sentiment deep in his heart, which, when leaving this world, he directed should be inscribed on his tombstone, "Jesus for thee I live, for thee I die," he committed himself to the direction of a wise and good Providence, and planted himself on the shores of Liberia. Useful in his profession, and distinguished by unremitting efforts to promote the best good of the infant colony, he was called to the agency of the colony. His efforts laid him upon the bed of sickness; there, although he could no more serve the colony as he had been wont to do, his remaining breath was spent in fervent prayer for its success, until, in a few days from his attack, with entire



resignation to the Divine will, and with unshaken and triumphant confidence in the glorious Saviour, he was called to pass the valley and shadow of death. One who was with him when he died, has remarked, "Well might I have said, when Dr. Anderson breathed his last, Come and see how a Christian can die." He is said to have evidenced "a remarkable devotion to the cause of God and man," and to have been possessed of "a spirit so mild, retiring, disinterested and unwavering, as at once to win the affections and deeply impress the heart" of all who became acquainted with him.

Rev. MELVILLE B. COX is another whose name will go down to many generations as one of Africa's early and faithful friends. Mr. Cox went out to Liberia under the direction of the Methodist Missionary Society, "to promote the cause of Christianity in Liberia, and among the African tribes in its vicinity." He is represented as a minister of great sincerity and zeal in the cause of Christ, and of distinguished abilities. In reference to his mission, he said before his departure, "I will have nothing to do with worldly gain in any form. If God permits me to go, it shall be to preach the gospel." Devoted to this work of piety and mercy himself, he was greatly anxious to enlist the feelings of others. "I would," said he, "that our colored friends felt on this subject as they should. When was there ever such a door opened? We cannot but feel. Africa calls us with millions of voices. She pleads in the strong wailings of suffering humanity. She speaks in the accents of dying spirits 'perishing for lack of knowledge.' Will not her sons in America hear? O that God would move their hearts to this work. Money and means are at their command—public sympathy is deeply enlisted in their favor, will they still refuse? God pity them. And may he pity those who have sown the seed of such deep-rooted prejudices against Liberia; and may he pity us who have so long enslaved intellect as to have rendered it almost entire-

ly insensible to moral and religious enterprise." Some friend of humanity who knew how to appreciate the worth of this excellent missionary, has embalmed his memory in these lines, entitled "the Grave of Cox."

"From Niger's dubious billow,  
From Gambia's silver wave,  
Where rests, on death's cold pillow,  
The tenant of the grave,  
We hear a voice of weeping,  
Like low-toned lutes at night,  
In plaintive echoes sweeping  
Up Mesurado's height.

The palm-tree o'er him waving,  
The grass above his head,  
The stream his clay-couch laving,  
All—all proclaim him dead;  
Dead! but alive in glory,  
A conqueror at rest;  
Embalmed in sacred story,  
And crowned amidst the blest.

A martyr's grave encloses  
His wearied frame at last,  
Perfum'd with heaven's sweet roses,  
On his dear bosom cast;  
And Afric's sons deploring  
Their champion laid low,  
Like many waters roaring,  
Unbosom all their wo.

The moon's lone chain of mountains,  
The plain where Carthage stood,  
Jugurtha's ancient fountains,  
And Teembo's palmy wood,  
Are wild with notes of sorrow,  
Above their sainted friend,  
To whom their comes no morrow,  
But glory without end."

THOMAS BUCHANAN, who died in the discharge of his duties as Governor of Liberia, deserves a high place among

the fast friends of the cause: but as his memoirs, it is hoped, will soon be published by an abler hand, we here close our notice of the honored dead.

It has been suggested that "in forming an opinion upon a subject of such vast importance to the best interests of our country and the very existence of the Union, as the negro question, it is well to look at the array of the great and the good, who have not only given the weight of their names, but have hallowed with their latest blessing the great cause they never ceased to love. The conscript fathers of the revolution, who laid the foundation of their country's greatness, who endured all the perils of the times that tried men's souls, and who showed that they knew how to appreciate the value of our happy union by mutual concession and a spirit of conciliation, without which the blessings sought could not be secured to their posterity—these, almost to a man, were ardent colonizationists."

It is also worthy of remark that those who have gone forth as pioneers in the noble cause of colonization, have embraced in their number some of the choicest spirits of the age. The leaders in this enterprise of humanity, patriotism, and benevolence, have not been men of an inferior order of intellect, nor mere visionaries; but of first rate minds, of enlarged views, sound judgment, great discretion, humble and unwavering piety, persevering zeal, entire devotion to the cause of God and the best interests of man. If a different opinion has prevailed, as it may, in some instances, it must be through want of proper information, and proper pains to obtain it. It is a remarkable fact, that they who have been most efficient in this good work have so generally been those possessed of pre-eminent qualifications—men who would have shone bright and been greatly honored remaining in their own native land, but whose piety and benevolence, manifest to all, led them to forego the flattering prospects before them here, that they might serve God and their generation on the shores of Africa.

Nor should this remark be wholly confined to those who as agents, sub-agents, physicians, or ministers of the gospel and missionaries of the cross, have gone forth in this good work. Among the colonists generally, has been an honorable share of all that is ennobling to humanity. As specimens of the views and feelings and qualifications of many, we may find much that is honorable in their own deeds. Take, as a specimen of the noble spirit and good judgment of not a few, the following extract of a letter from a free man of color, then belonging in Georgia, who sought an asylum in Africa in 1831. It need not be said, after reading the extract, that he was highly esteemed for his intelligence and piety where he then lived. He writes to the Secretary of the Colonization Society:

"I have always viewed the principle on which the Society was grounded, as one of much policy, though I saw it was aided by a great deal of benevolence. And when viewing my situation, with thousands of my colored brethren in the United States, who are in a similar situation, I have often wondered what prevented us from rising, and with one voice saying, we will accept the offer made us at a risk of sacrificing all the comforts that our present situation can afford us. I have often almost come to the conclusion that I would make the sacrifice, and have only been prevented by the unfavorable accounts of the climate. I have always, heretofore, viewed it as a matter of temporal interest, but now I view it spiritually. According to the accounts from Liberia, it wants help, and such as I trust I could give, though ever so little. I understand the branches of a wheelwright, and blacksmith, and carpenter; I also have good ideas of machinery and other branches. I trust also, were I to go there, I would add one to the number of advocates for religion. I will thank you to inform me what things I should take for the comfort of myself and family. I don't expect to go at the expense of the Society, and therefore hope to be allowed to take something more than those who do not defray their own expenses."

On looking over the pages that have preceded, the remembrance of other eminent friends of colonization among our countrymen who have also been distinguished by their station, talents, acquirements, and virtue, admonishes us of many omissions: Among the departed might have been mentioned the names of Wirt, Crawford, Lowndes, Judge Workman, Mercer, Southard, Vroom, Cotton Smith, Judge Wilkinson, Gov. Morrell, McDonogh, Drs. Cuyler, Tenney, Fisk, Milnor, Proudfit, Olin, Alexander, and others; and among its surviving friends (and long may they be spared to bless their country and the world) might have been named, of civilians, without distinction of party or locality, these bright lights of our land, Clay, Webster, Frelinghuysen, McLane, Everett, Butler, Whittlesey, Latrobe, and others; in the mercantile world, Gerard Ralston, Anson G. Phelps, Henry Sheldon, and others; and among the clergy, Breckinridge, Gurley, Burgess, Bacon, DeWitt, Spring, Tyng, Pinney, Bethune, and others; but the limits assigned to this appendix forbid our pursuing this subject as the thoughts would lead.

We should also advert, by acknowledgment, to the fact that COLONIZATION AND AFRICA HAVE FOUND GENEROUS FRIENDS AMONG THE FAIR SEX. Our fair countrywomen, the author is happy to say, have not withheld the pleasing influence and encouragement of their good example and charities from this great and holy cause. Always ready to feel for the wretched, nor ever backward in the efforts of benevolence when humanity calls, they have, in many instances, done themselves high honor by the aid which they have rendered to the cause of Africa and of colonization. Did not the respect that is due to the retiring modesty of the sex forbid it, it would be grateful to bear testimony to their disinterested benevolence, and record the names of not a few, who, though their good works and alms' deeds may not be heralded by the trump of earthly fame, have truly a record on high.

As an encouragement to others to "go, and do likewise,"

and as a just recognition of that moral influence which the ladies of our land, like ministering angels of love and mercy, may exert—often undervalued by themselves, but acknowledged by humanity and religion to be of unspeakable worth—reference may be here made to a few instances of untiring friendship and devotion to the cause, as communicated in a note by a friend in answer to an inquiry touching the extent of female benevolence in support of the free schools in Liberia.

“Colonization owes as much, perhaps, to female zeal and self-sacrificing devotion, as any benevolent enterprise of the age. In the infancy of the Society, when its friends were few and timid, and its enemies many and determined, the untiring efforts of Bishop M. were most nobly seconded by his excellent sisters, the Misses M., who contributed very largely from their own means, eliciting by their example and personal exertions the co-operation of their friends, and finally dedicated most of their property by will, to sustaining this holy cause. The sisters-in-law of that devoted friend of Africa have never ceased from the performance of deeds of kindness towards her oppressed children. This has been manifested by liberal and frequent donations, by unwearied care over the moral and religious culture of those entrusted to them by Providence and on the sailing of the first expedition for Bassa Cove, one of them, Mrs. P., not only liberated fourteen choice slaves to aid the enterprise, and gave them an ample outfit, but generously added \$500 to ensure them every thing necessary in their new home.

“These noble examples were not lost on their friend and neighbor, Miss B., who, in addition to the liberation of eleven slaves, (contributing nearly all her little property,) mortgaged the residue and raised \$800, with which she purchased the freedom of the husbands of two of her women, who were held by persons in the vicinity. Nor was her strong affection for this degraded people stopped here. By devoting



the proceeds of her needle, and the profits of her dairy to their welfare, she yearly increased the humble resources of the Society. One sister, who recently died, made the freedom of a family now settled in Liberia a parting request to her surviving relatives. Mrs. W. of Mount Vernon, another sister, sent an interesting and valuable family of slaves to Liberia, and at the same time made a handsome donation to the funds of the Society, whose want of means alone prevented their fitting out another expedition to convey them, and a number of other slaves pressed upon the Society by their benevolent owners, to Bassa Cove.

“Mrs. M., Mrs. B., and Mrs. C. of Arlington might be mentioned among many of the same circle, who for years heroically devoted themselves to the task of instructing and evangelizing their slaves, and those of their neighbors, and aiding in support of schools in Africa. Rarely have we listened to a more deeply interesting narrative than that of a clergyman recently on a visit in the South, who was present when the former of those ladies, then perfectly blind, on learning that her youngest and darling son was alone deterred from offering himself as a missionary for Africa by the fear that she could not bear the separation, called for her guide, and waited on the venerable senior Bishop of that diocese, to assure him that however severe was this test of her faith, she could not but cheerfully resign him for the performance of a service so holy.

“The name of Miss M. M. will descend to posterity as one of the illustrious of the age. Descending from one of the most ancient and distinguished families of the South, and brought up in the possession of all that wealth could bestow this noble woman did not hesitate, on the death of her father, to liberate her own share of his slaves, together with such others as could be purchased; and sending the young, the active, and the vigorous, at her own cost, to Africa, she, one of the loveliest and most accomplished of her sex, converted the mansion of her ancestors into a

boarding school, and for years devoted herself to the arduous duties of superintending it, that she might discharge the debt thus incurred, and sustain the 'old and the worn out.' What a beautiful comment on the charge of our adversaries, that such only are the objects of the pretended benevolence of colonizationists! It has been the privilege of the writer of this faint tribute to female worth, to visit Cedar Park Seminary at the period of its annual fair, when hundreds of the surrounding gentry assemble to enjoy the charming scene presented by her fair charge, joyously displaying the fruits of the past year's industry, and devoting the proceeds of their skill and their taste to the cause of education in Liberia, by which they have already contributed upwards of \$1100 toward the proposed college at Bassa Cove. The venerable mansion—the natural features of the scene, almost unparalleled for sylvan charms—the rich display of articles of utility and beauty—the happy and animated groups engaged in the duties of the day, were all highly attractive: but it must be confessed that all this was infinitely heightened, when, on approaching the white-headed little company of merry old negroes assembled beneath the ample shade of the monarchs that had for centuries spread their giant arms athwart the verdant lawn, and asking some questions touching themselves and their absent descendants, they poured forth a torrent of blessings upon their 'good missis' for the benefits she had showered on 'them and theirs.'

"Who can forget the spirit-stirring lays of the sweet singer of the North, Mrs. S., or her touching appeals for the dark-browed sons of Africa? To her discriminating judgment and patient care, do the earliest schools of Africa owe much for the selection and preparation of young colored females who subsequently became eminently useful as teachers. Or who but must revere the admirable patron of those schools—the venerable Friend B. S., of Philadelphia, who first planted and sustained them, and who has

presided over the Ladies' Liberia School Association, to which those schools gave rise, with untiring assiduity and liberality, until many hundreds of the offspring of Africa rejoiced in the privileges of a Christian education?

"Many other bright names might be added to this hurried list of the early female friends of colonization; but having already exceeded the limits I had proposed for answering the query of yesterday, permit me to close with that of the widow of the revered Finley, who, on adverting to his love for Africa, strong in death—added, 'one son is now there, the other is on the banks of the Mississippi pleading her cause—and if I possessed twenty, I would gladly dedicate them all to the same holy work.'"

In another portion of this work reference has been made to distinguished friends of the cause in England. This reference might here be extended; but we will close our notice of those who have dedicated their time, their talents, their money, and their prayers to this great enterprise, with a beautiful tribute to the merits of colonization, from the pen of the late JONATHAN HUTCHINSON, one who enjoyed in a remarkable degree the love and veneration of his fellow Christians, and the respect of all who knew him. This extract is from testimony borne to the mission of one who visited England not long since to promote the views of the American Colonization Society.\*

\* "Hannah Killham, who was a member of the Society of Friends in England, and well known for her great benevolence and ardent piety, visited Liberia in 1832. She thus expresses herself in a letter written while in the colony: 'This colony altogether presents quite a new scene of combined African and American interest. I cannot but hope and trust, that it is the design of Infinite Goodness to prepare a home in this land for many who have been denied the full extent of privilege in the land of their birth, and that some, who are brought here but as a shelter and resource for themselves, may, through the visitation of heavenly goodness in their own minds, and the farther leadings of Divine love, become ministers of the glad tidings of the gospel to many who are now living in darkness, and the shadow of death.'"

“After a serious and deliberate consideration of the plan exhibited for educating, christianizing and instructing in the arts of civilized life, the emancipated slave; and thus preparing him as a fit instrument for conferring similar benefits upon his countrymen in Africa—I am led to the conclusion that it is the most intelligible in theory, the most efficient in practice, and the least expensive of any proposition on this important subject that has hitherto met my observation. Should this scheme of pure benevolence be so far able to surmount the difficulties attending its course, as to produce the full amount of good of which it appears capable, I think it will ultimately prove to have been one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed by a gracious Creator, through the instrumentality of man, upon suffering and degraded humanity. Under these impressions, I cannot but desire its success—and that every one who, with proper motives and qualifications, shall engage in the service of so noble a cause, may be aided by the sympathy and support of every friend of the human race; and that he may also be favored in the prosecution of this great object with assistance and protection from the universal Parent of the whole family of man, who is ‘God over all, blessed for ever!’

*“Gedney, Smo. 13, 1832.”*

And now, finally, this work is commended by the author to the blessing of God. That these pages may do good, is the anxious wish of one who loves his country and sympathizes with his brethren in whatever part of the country, and also pities Africa and her oppressed children.

## Notices.

**YARADER; A PLEA FOR AFRICA**, in familiar conversations on the subject of Slavery and Colonization,—was the title of successive editions of a work which issued from the press in the years 1836-8, by the author of the present volume entitled "Africa's Redemption the Salvation of our Country." In the present work, the substance of the former is retained, the statistics varied by time being corrected; whilst the fuller history of the colonization enterprise, the advanced condition of Liberia, and the present aspect of the whole subject, is presented by copious additions and revisions. The flattering reception which the former work met, and the assurances that it was of great utility to the cause which it was intended to promote, are reasons which have often been urged for the production of the present volume. A few notices recommendatory of the original work, consequent upon the appearance of the several editions of the "PLEA," are here selected from various leading periodicals as indicative of the estimation in which it was held.

This work, so long a desideratum, will be read with equal pleasure and profit by every true friend of the African race; correct principles, sprightly narrative, and thrilling anecdote, being happily blended in a work of high literary merit. We hope the time is not far distant when a copy of it will be found in every family of our land. The spirit with which it is written must commend it to the attentive perusal of every one of good feeling.—*Colonization Herald*.

This is an able defence of colonization. The author goes over the whole ground of the controversy which has of late so agitated the country, bringing to his aid many appropriate observations of distinguished men, or extracts from their speeches, which are made to bear, in an interesting and instructive manner, upon the points under discussion.—*Journal of Commerce*.

Sketches, anecdote, history and argument, are happily blended in furnishing a full view of the subject, and in leading the mind to the conclusion that colonization is the only true remedy of an acknowledged evil, for the cure of which such unskillful means have lately been applied.—*Presbyterian*.

Mr. Freeman has performed a valuable service for the community; and we hope not in vain. There seems a very pleasing variety of fact and incident embodied in the work, which will, as we before remarked, render it attractive, while we fear not to predict its utility, if it is read.—*Baptist Monthly*.

A part of this volume contains a learned dissertation upon the origin of slavery, and the cause of that evil upon Africa. The writer quotes from many ingenious authors, and gives great interest to his work by his happy use of his reading. He sets forth the evils of slavery to the master as well as to the slave, and points to colonization as a remedy.—*United States Gazette*.

It appears to be designed to present, at one view, a summary of the views of the different parties on these two topics, (slavery and colonization,) and the arguments and facts on which each of them relies. In the main we regard the spirit of the author to be unexceptionable. We have been pleased with the general tendency of the volume, which is to exhibit the present attractive position which Providence has given to the scheme of African colonization. The information it contains ought to be universally disseminated in our own country, and if British philanthropists and orators would read it they would spare themselves ridiculous, and slandering the nation.—*Commercial Advertiser*.

Those wanting a full illustration and investigation of the subject of slavery and colonization, we refer to the above work. We think none can rise from its perusal without leaving their minds enlightened on this very important subject.—*Lancaster Journal*.

An interesting book, in which Mr. Freeman has collected and judiciously arranged important facts relative to the history and evils of slavery; he has also rendered the work more valuable by collating and presenting in their connexion with each other, the sentiments of many of the most enlightened and distinguished men, both in Europe and America, who have contributed of their influence and talents in aid of the cause which he pleads. He has appropriately adopted a conversational style, and so happily blended entertainment with instruction, as to render his Plea a captivating manual, not only for the use of mature inquirers, but also of those who are soon to assume an active agency in consummating the plans which their seniors shall have commenced. We believe that whoever shall read it, and we believe they will be many, will derive from it much knowledge, and receive such impressions as will better qualify them to act with an intelligent zeal in promoting the object the attainment of which it contemplates.—*Philadelphia Observer*.

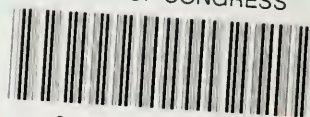








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